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THE EVOLUTION OF THE ANALYTIC PERFECT AND FUTURE
IN HISPANO-ROMANCE

by



CHRISTOPHER GERARD LYONS

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The undersigned certify that they have read,
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the emergence in Vulgar Latin of the compound perfect and future tenses and the partial or complete displacement of the corresponding synthetic forms. The further development to Modern Spanish is traced, particular attention being given to the return to synthetic expression in one of these tenses. As a preliminary to this investigation a number of approaches to the study of tense are described and evaluated, and a framework is proposed for the description of the semantic categories expressed by the tense forms of spoken Latin. Finally, consideration is given to the factors underlying changes to synthetic and analytic expression.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE DESCRIPTIVE FRAMEWORK

APPROACHES TO TIME IN LANGUAGE

Discussion of tense systems has often involved consideration of two opposite, or complementary, methods of tackling language, the semasiological and the onomasiological.

Semasiology, the formal approach, sets out from the linguistic form and aims at a statement of meaning; it is based on the assumption that an analysis can, and therefore should, be made, classifying forms in terms of their relationships to each other and defining their functions from the contexts in which they occur, without resort to extra-linguistic devices. Onomasiology, the notional approach, begins with a conceptual system and examines the designation of the elements of this system in a given language; the system of notional categories is constructed as a logical, non-linguistic frame of reference in which we can fit linguistic forms and in terms of which we can compare different languages or stages of a language.

Before describing the method to be used in the present study of the tenses of Latin and Spanish, it is worthwhile to consider the approaches adopted in three major works on Romance tenses. Guillaume's Temps et Verbe (1965) exemplifies the semasiological approach, while perhaps the principal study on an onomasiological base is Bull's Time, Tense and the Verb (1963); Heger's Die Bezeichnung temporal-deiktischer Begriffskategorien

im französischen und spanischen Konjugationssystem (1963)
also starts from an extra-linguistic conceptual system but
differs in some important respects from Bull's book.

Guillaume's Temps et Verbe is largely a study of French, but the methodology is intended to be of universal applicability, and a number of other languages are discussed in some detail. In his introduction, Guillaume briefly compares the tense systems of Latin and French to illustrate his assertion that, while time is the same universally, one's conception of it, reflected in one's language, is structured in one of a variety of different ways, depending on which of the constituent oppositions of time one's system is based on.

The Latin system is built upon the semantic relationship of present to past, shown in the forms amo-amavi, and this present-past axis links two sub-systems within each of which are developed the eras of past and future. Thus amabo is a present-future and amabam a present-past, while amavero is a past-future and amaveram a past-past. This is presented diagrammatically in Fig. 1.

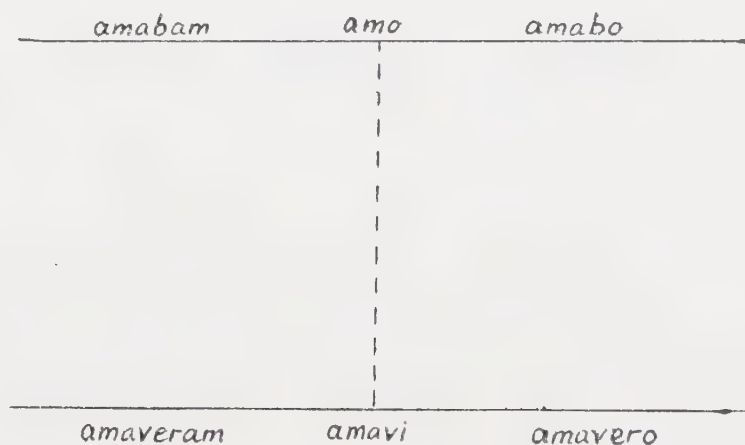


Fig. 1

The influence of the forms on this classification is evident, all the members of the past sub-system showing -v-, -b- partially indicating the present sub-system, and the past and future members of each sub-system corresponding with those of the other in the endings -am and -o. The fact that amavi is generally regarded as having two distinct functions, corresponding to the English I have loved and I loved, finds no place in the analysis.

The French system is built around the opposition between the "parcelle de passé" and the "parcelle de futur" which are the constituent elements of present time. This opposition is, however, only realised in the past and future eras; in the past aimai and eus aimé represent the "parcelle de futur" and aimais and avais aimé the "parcelle de passé," while in the future aimerai and aurai aimé represent the "parcelle de futur" and aimerais and aurais aimé the "parcelle de passé." What Guillaume means by this opposition is not made clear till a later chapter, but it is based on his taking the present to be a period of time, necessarily including a part of the past and a part of the future. He regards the distinction between the simple construction aimer and the compound construction avoir aimé as one of aspect, not time.

Guillaume does make claims of a universal nature, psychological claims concerning the formation in the mind of the temporal image, "l'image-temps," in relation to which he presents a definition of the phenomena of aspect and mood, and concerning the division of "le temps in esse," the fully formed image of time, into three eras, past, present and future, the

present being composed of some past and some future time (7-13). But, given these basic elements, each language organises time in its own way, and the linguist must analyse each system in its own terms, on the basis of forms: "La grammaire est essentiellement la science des formes linguistiques" (56).

A few points in Guillaume's treatment of time are worth bringing out, since they serve to illustrate his general approach (51-54). As noted above, he sees the present as consisting of a past element and a future element; these two elements are termed "chronotypes." The past chronotype represents time which has existed, and is a "chronotype réel et décadent," while the future chronotype represents time which has not yet existed but which is coming, and is therefore a "chronotype virtuel et incident." The synthesis of these chronotypes constitutes the present, but when they are transferred to the past and future eras French has a tense form corresponding to each of them, as we have already seen. Guillaume is struck by the symmetry of the French system, but this symmetry is a pure invention; the view that j'aimerais and j'aimerais stand in the same relation to one another as do j'aimai and j'aimais is clearly untenable. His extreme formalism is evident when he states that this symmetrical correspondence is indicated by the correspondence of endings: aimais and aimerais, aimai and aimerai; he does not mention the fact that this formal correspondence does not hold with the pair eus aimé and aurai aimé, and he ignores all the classes of verbs in which the past historic ends quite differently from the future (as finis, finirai).

Comment is called for on Guillaume's notion of aspect (15-20) which, for French, is explained in terms of a verb's "tension," the progression of the action associated with the verb. If we imagine this progression to be represented by a line, then the infinitive corresponds to the initial position, where the verb has all its tension before it, no action having yet taken place. In medial positions the verb has before it the tension yet unused and behind it the "détension" corresponding to the tension used up, that is, the action is in progress; here the verbal image is a combination of tension and detension, and the corresponding form is the present participle. In the final position the verbal image involves only detension, the action being completed, and is expressed by the past participle. However, for reasons not entirely clear, Guillaume believes that tension is an essential element of the verb and that therefore the past participle, lacking tension, is not fully verbal, but partly adjectival. This unsatisfactory situation is resolved by the introduction of an auxiliary verb to restore the tension, and to create a new series of positions; in this series, the auxiliary takes the forms of infinitive, present participle and past participle, to correspond to the three positions described above. The process repeats itself, the "problem" of the final position being resolved by the creation of a third series, in which the auxiliary is doubled to give what are usually termed the "temps surcomposés." In this third series, however, the final position is not reached, since the auxiliary's capacity to restore lost tension is exhausted. The three series of the French verb, then, are as follows

(we follow Guillaume in using the verb marcher for illustration):

	<u>tension</u>	<u>tension/détension</u>	<u>détension</u>
1.	marcher	marchant	marché
2.	avoir marché	ayant marché	eu marché
3.	avoir eu marché	ayant eu marché	

Guillaume terms these series "aspects," the first being "l'aspect tensif," the second "l'aspect extensif," and the third "l'aspect bi-extensif." This use of the term "aspect" corresponds in the case of French to that of most studies of tense, but he goes on later to give a general definition of aspect as " ... une forme qui, dans le système même du verbe, dénote une opposition transcendant toutes les autres oppositions du système et capable ainsi de s'intégrer à chacun des termes entre lesquels se marquent lesdites oppositions" (109). It is thus a notion of language-specific significance; to be characterised as aspectual, an opposition need not be of a certain type, but need only meet the condition of being general within the particular system. Yet Guillaume curiously does not describe the two sub-systems of Latin, described above, as aspects, although the two correspond throughout the system.

Bull departs from structural linguistics, with its method of classification according to form and distribution, and sets out to analyse and describe the conceptual systems which are the referents of tense morphemes. His main reason for beginning with a description of objective reality is that its pertinent features have been thoroughly studied by the physical sciences, so that, on the basis of axioms, all the relationships that may be found in any tense system can be established, and a theoretical system may be created to serve as a non-linguistic frame

of reference for all tense systems (3).

Time, as the fourth dimension, can be represented as an infinite straight line. On an abstract level, time can be regarded as reversible, since the distance between two points on the straight line can be measured in either direction; but, clearly, as man experiences it, time goes only in one direction. Thus, though we can perceive events as proceeding only forward, towards the future, we can contemplate them as going in either direction in relation to a point of reference, or "axis of orientation." Thus "... there are only three possible order relationships between events and any axis of orientation: the event being perceived may be anterior to, simultaneous with, or posterior to the event used as an axis of orientation" (9). The prime axis of orientation for all tense systems is the act of speaking, which can be called the present point. This "point" has duration which could be measured, but for the practical purposes of everyday speech its length is ignored.

Past, present and future are not to be identified with time; they do not refer to time intervals, but are rather to be identified with concepts traditionally associated with aspect. Bull does not use the customary grammatical terms for order and time, but refers to entities by arbitrary symbols denoting terms borrowed from mathematics; he is thus able to avoid the association of traditional notions with the labels used.

Any fixed direction of observation at an axis of orientation (denoted by the symbol P) is called a vector (V), and all directions from P are expressed by the formulas $P\emptyset V$, $P-V$, $P+V$.

Zero direction indicates simultaneity, minus direction anteriority, and plus direction posteriority. A vector formula does not indicate time intervals, but between two events not simultaneous there must be an interval, and this is termed a scalar. A scalar is a quantity with no direction, but it can be added to a vector formula and is then called a tensor, the element fixing the length of a vector (14-15).

Bull makes the important assertion that no Indo-European tense system deals with time (16). By this he means that no Indo-European language has verb affixes which can be defined as scalars or tensors, and that, if the tense systems of these languages have been properly analysed, they consist of vector formulas. This conclusion, then, is less startling than it appears, when one realises that Bull uses the term "time" somewhat misleadingly to refer to duration only; vectors are, as Bull makes clear, directions along a straight line, but this straight line represents the dimension of time.

Bull constructs a hypothetical tense system based exclusively on order, aspect, and axes of orientation (20-25). Man experiences and thinks about events at the prime axis of orientation, the "point present," symbolised by PP. From this point one can look back and forward towards infinity. But as time is never still, one constantly finds oneself at a new PP, and the original PP is left behind and now exists only in the memory. It can, however, be recalled as a retrospective axis of orientation; this axis is, on an abstract level, a retrospective point, symbolised by RP. The speaker can also foresee that at some anticipated point in time he will again contemplate all

infinity bidirectionally; this future axis is symbolised by AP.

We now have three axes of orientation, and Bull believes it probable that four is the maximum number of axes occurring. "If RP can be recalled at PP and if AP can be anticipated from PP, then total recall would be impossible unless one could remember at PP that he once anticipated an axis from RP." This retrospective anticipated axis, RAP, completes the hypothetical tense system.

Now, the vector formulas, containing three order symbols $(-, \emptyset, +)$ and the symbols for the four axes (RP, RAP, PP, AP), can be converted into a "tense" system by the addition of the symbol E, standing for the event, the equivalent of any verb stem. Thus eight "morphemes" give a set of twelve "tense" forms, representing all possible order relations between all possible events and four axes of orientation. The twelve formulas are:

$E\{PP-V\}$	$E\{PP\emptyset V\}$	$E\{PP+V\}$
$E\{AP-V\}$	$E\{AP\emptyset V\}$	$E\{AP+V\}$
$E\{RP-V\}$	$E\{RP\emptyset V\}$	$E\{RP+V\}$
$E\{RAP-V\}$	$E\{RAP\emptyset V\}$	$E\{RAP+V\}$

The axes PP and RP refer to actual events, unlike AP and RAP, which do not; AP and RAP are projected from PP and RP respectively. The "event axes," then, may be considered the prime axes of the system; thus, the entire system is composed of two structurally identical sub-systems, one based on PP and the other on RP. Bull speaks of these sub-systems as "two basic tenses," one containing the morpheme PP and the other containing the morpheme RP; this is the maximum number of "basic tenses" possible for a language having four axes of orientation. Bull's diagrammatical representation of this hypothetical tense system

is reproduced in Fig. 2; since it is constructed in terms of a maximum potential, it is not to be expected that any language will have equivalents for all the theoretically possible forms, and, indeed, none of the languages surveyed by Bull has.

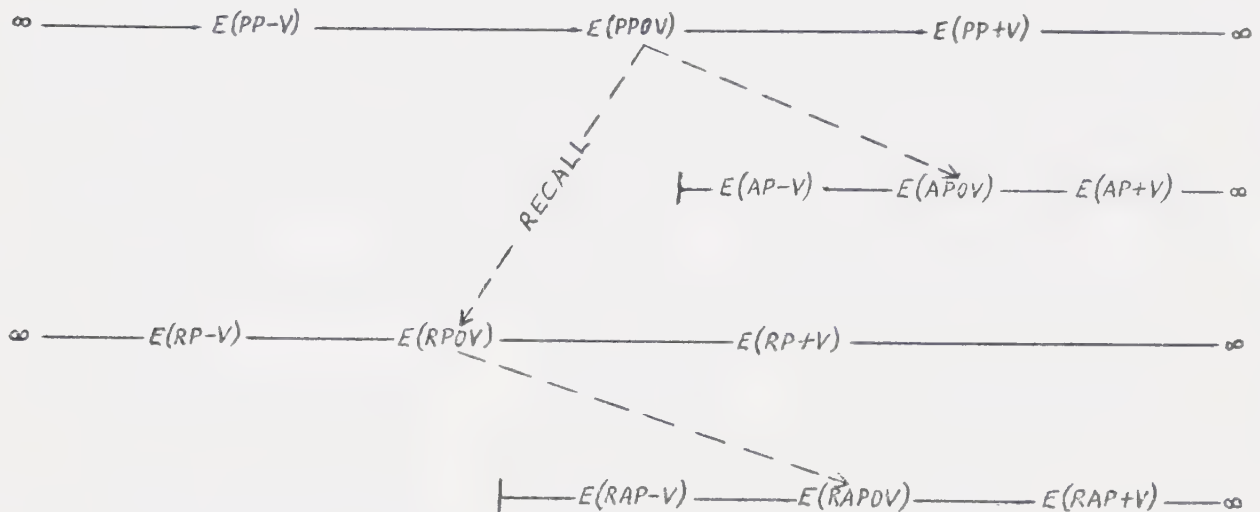


Fig. 2

For Bull, aspect is concerned with the division of events into a beginning, a middle and an end (16-18, 26). At PP, the difference between aspect and order is "a difference in the conceptualization of the same basic fact." If the termination of an event is simultaneous with perception it will nevertheless be anterior to the act of speaking, and therefore all perfected (completed) events reported at PP must have been initiated or terminated before PP, and are thus anterior to PP; all events imperfect at PP (that is, events whose middle aspect occurs at PP) must be simultaneous with PP. This is not to say, however, that perfectivity and anteriority, or imperfectivity and simultaneity, are interdependent; it must not be taken to be the case

that an entire verb system can be explained in terms of either aspect or order. The vector system alone cannot explain the difference between Spanish supo and sabía, both of which are E(RPØV).

Bull defines the semantic content of the Spanish tense forms by plotting them against his hypothetical tense formulas (42, 72) as follows (only the indicative forms are given here):

PP-V hemos vendido	PPØV vendemos	PP+V venderemos
AP-V habremos vendido	APØV -	AP+V -
RP-V habíamos vendido hubimos vendido	RPØV vendíamos vendimos	RP+V venderíamos -
RAP-V habríamos vendido	RAPØV -	RAP+V -

A number of points in Bull's study must be questioned. In his exposition of the hypothetical tense system he says: "The fact that AP and RAP are axes of orientation projected from PP and RP places definite limitations upon the function of some of the twelve forms in the hypothetical tense system ... E(AP-V) cannot place an event anterior to PP, and similarly E(RAP-V) cannot place an event anterior to RP" (24). This restriction on the projected axes is surely both unnecessary and incorrect; consider the following imagined exchange:

- A: How many old ladies have you killed now?
 B: I have killed three.
 A: And how many will you have killed tomorrow?
 B: I shall still have killed three.

The final reply violates Bull's restriction on the Future Perfect, yet is perfectly grammatical and logically faultless.

His enlargement of the initial three-axis system to include

an axis representing the recollection of anticipation (RAP) calls for comment; this four-axis system gives the impression of unnecessary assymetry after his statement that man views events in terms of the three directional relationships of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority. His reason for this is the distinction he draws between the two "event axes," PP and RP, on the one hand, and the "non-event axis," AP, on the other; the "event axes" are seen as primary, and the addition of a second "non-event axis," RAP, then gives the system a certain symmetry, since both prime axes now have secondary axes projected from them. His reasoning here is questionable; it is not clear why a distinction should be drawn between events which are going to occur and events which have occurred or are occurring. The significant point about future events is that they will happen rather than that they have not happened; the future is no more an inherently negative tense than is the past or the present. It is quite true that there tends to be more differentiation of temporal and aspectual relations in the past than in the future, and this can be given an adequate extra-linguistic explanation; we are likely to talk more about the past, and with more certainty and subtlety, than about the future, simply because we know more about the past than the future. But the linguist would handle this fact in a more satisfactory way by simply stating that languages are likely to give expression to fewer of the hypothetical categories in the future than in the past rather than by making the future axis subordinate to the present one. One gets the impression that Bull has been influenced in

constructing his hypothetical system by the apparent structure of his principal languages, which have a "Conditional," or "Retro-Future."

In assigning meaning to Spanish forms in terms of his hypothetical system, Bull falls into the error of invoking formal reasons carelessly; his claim that vendimos belongs to the RP system, as E(RPØV), because of the -i-, "the mark of RP" (36-37), is, as Klum correctly observes, "entirely Guillaumian" (1964,778). It omits whole classes in which the "Retro-Perfect" is not characterized by -i- (as hablamos), recalling Guillaume's supposed parallelism of aimai and aimerai, already referred to.

With regard to the future and conditional, Bull says that Spanish has no forms corresponding to E(APØV) and E(RAPØV), but that the difference between E(PP+V) and E(APØV) is one between two formulations or conceptualisations of the same fact (67). Any event taking place at AP must be posterior to PP, so that cantará may be described as E(PP+V) or E(APØV). Spanish uses the Present Subjunctive for E(APØV) and the Future for E(PP+V), the use of the latter for E(APØV) being "nonsystemic," or deviant. Bull's reason for assigning cantará to the PP axis is that he takes it to be a compound form, consisting of an infinitive indicating plus vector, and a present auxiliary (90); he does not defend this assumption, and there is reason for questioning its validity. We shall return to this problem in a later chapter.

In setting up his conceptual system, Bull does not totally ignore linguistic and psychological reality but has the speaker

constantly in mind, evaluating theoretically possible devices in terms of man's relationship to them; this is evident, for instance, in the division made between event and non-event axes. In this he differs from Heger, and we shall look briefly at the latter's contribution to bring out the main points of an alternative view of onomasiology.

Heger rigidly separates notional categories from their designations, and postulates a notional system which is purely logical and totally independent of any linguistic reality. The study of linguistic forms may reveal a psychological system of meanings specific to the language in question, but this system will not necessarily coincide with his notional system; this seems to be what he means by the distinction between "Begriff," which is the notion independent of form, and "Bedeutung," which is connected to the formal expression. So he first defines his system theoretically, as does Bull, and only then examines the formal designations of the notional categories in the systems of particular languages.

His notional structure is based on the fundamental deictic division between Jetzt and Nicht-Jetzt, Now and Not-Now, and this opposition underlies his whole system, both temporal and aspectual (22-48). Time is represented as an infinite straight line, divided into Gegenwart (Present) and Nicht-Gegenwart, Gegenwart, the Now of the structure, being defined by the act of speaking. Nicht-Gegenwart is then split by Gegenwart into Vergangenheit (Past) and Zukunft (Future), that is, Now splits Not-Now into before and after. This system can now be projected on itself, so that the before-after

opposition recurs at each of the already established divisions of time, giving, for example, Vorzukunft (Before-Future) and Nachzukunft (After-Future). This system of nine divisions is shown in Fig. 3.

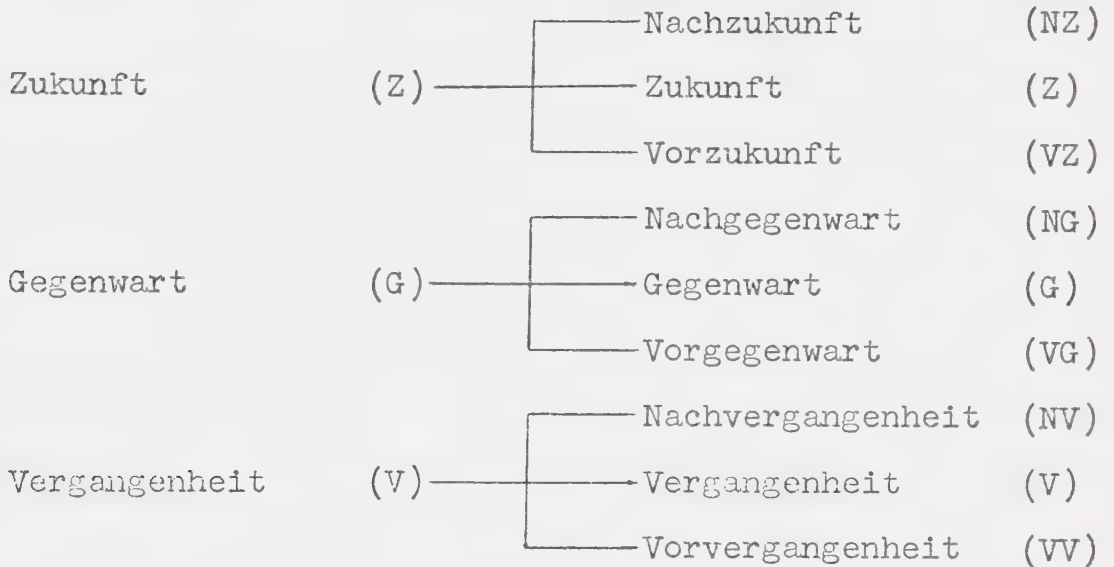


Fig. 3

Heger repeats the process, subdividing again to arrive at a system of twenty-seven divisions with such categories as Vornachgegenwart (Before-After-Present, VNG) and Nachmitgegenwart (After-At-Present, NMG), and occasionally he refers to places in a system of eighty-one, for example habría ido cantando, VVNV (188). Each new division can theoretically be subdivided indefinitely by repetition of the same process, but, of course, with less likelihood of there being a corresponding linguistic expression. These "Zeitstufen" are all relational and directional units, the length of intervals between them being irrelevant (as in Bull's system), but Heger seems to treat quantitative distinctions of time as if they were simply deictic ones, as when he distinguishes acabo de

cantar from he cantado as VMG versus VG.

Heger believes time and aspect to be intimately linked, and establishes the deictic opposition Now/Not-Now as underlying the fundamental aspectual opposition Perfective/Imperfective; the Now of the verbal process represents the process as seen from without. If the viewpoint stands inside the process, then the relevant aspect is Durative (Imperfective); if the viewpoint is outside the process, then the aspect is Non-Durative (Perfective). Since time is irreversible, the viewpoint from which a process is seen as Perfective in aspect must be posterior to the process itself; it is because of this that Heger identifies completion with the Perfective aspect, and sees the past participle, and hence all compounds in which it takes part, as intrinsically perfective. When the action is Past, the Perfective aspect requires an After-Past, Present or Future viewpoint, for a Present action the viewpoint may be After-Present or Future, and for a Future action it may only be After-Future. This viewpoint is clearly not to be equated with Bull's "axis of orientation"; Heger is not very clear on this point, but it seems that when, for example, referring to a Perfective action in Future time one has to imagine oneself viewing the action from a point posterior to it. The final theoretical time-aspect structure, then, is asymmetrical, as a result of the disproportion between the two aspects and between the different time categories when in combination with the Perfective aspect. The viewpoint referred to by Heger in his definition of aspect is, however, surely non-existent: the speaker's viewpoint is the time of

speaking, and the nature of the aspectual value distinguishing, for example, Spanish cantó 'sang' from cantaba 'was singing' lies in the reference to a process as an unanaly-sable whole, as opposed to a state conceived of as possibly forming part of a process; at any time after the Perfective process it is of course completed, but this fact follows from the perfectivity of the process rather than being part of the definition of perfectivity.

In conclusion (226-234), Heger says that both semasio-logy and onomasiology are necessary, but that his method has explanatory value while the form-to-meaning approach does not, since the latter involves making comparisons within a given system with no outside terms of comparison. Heger suggests that linguistic changes may be explained in terms of two antagonistic factors, a tendency to formal symmetry, and a desire for more complete correspondence between the formal and the notional categories. Comparison of linguistic systems across space and time can indeed gain much from a constant system of reference, but it is difficult to envisage explanations of linguistic phenomena being given in terms of a structure which is non-linguistic and non-psychological; the notions constituting objective reality are not necessarily those expressed by language.

The principal advantages and weaknesses of the semasio-logical and onomasiological approaches emerge from this presentation. Guillaume has certain universal ideas concerning the nature of time and man's conceptualisation of time, but

he believes that the linguist must analyse forms to see how a language makes use of the elements constituting the objective reality of time. For Bull and Heger this reality is the object of study, and linguistic forms are then interpreted in terms of the non-linguistic frame of reference. The principal differences between Bull and Heger lie in their respective views concerning the structure of the objective reality of time (see Figs. 2 and 3), but these differences reflect a greater concern on Bull's part with the speaker and his relation to time.¹

The failings of the formal approach are perhaps most evident, particularly in extreme versions of the method; one can organise forms into patterns which no doubt have some psychological significance, but Guillaume's assumption that these patterns correspond to semantic structures is quite unacceptable. A notional system constituting a non-linguistic frame of reference is clearly valuable, but only as a device for describing or comparing systems with regard to their meanings; to attempt to use it to explain linguistic change involves making unjustified assumptions. There is no reason to suppose that the purpose of linguistic forms is to express the categories of an objectively established notional system. It seems more likely that language relates to reality (and unreality) as seen and interpreted by the speech community, and that speakers of one language may use a set of concepts differing considerably from those of the speakers of another language. Bull recognises this, and accepts (referring to the Whorf hypothesis) that "ordinary language influences the

way different cultures organize objective reality" (113). This criticism is less obviously applicable to Bull than to Heger, since the former bears in mind practical restrictions on conceptualisation of events and structures his hypothetical system accordingly; but there is not sufficient reason to accept Bull's system as a psychological universal.

A SEMANTIC FRAMEWORK FOR ROMANCE TENSE

We shall now attempt to set up a system describing the reference of tense forms for which we can claim explanatory value. Now "explanatory" is a term used in linguistics in various senses, and frequently rather loosely, and it is apt to give the reader (and writer) an impression of finality if he does not keep in mind the particular use of the term. A diachronic change of a form into a distinct form is sometimes thought to be "explained" if it is related to a more or less regular sound change or a "rule"; "explanatory adequacy" is attributed to a grammar by transformationalists if it accounts for linguistic phenomena in terms of a general theory. The sense of "explanatory value" as we hope to claim it for the hypothesis below is perfectly straightforward and unobjectionable; it is best clarified in relation to the purpose to which the framework will be put.

The aim is to suggest that certain changes in the tense system of Latin are to be attributed to factors at the semantic level. Attempts have been made many times to account for changes at the level of phonology (for instance, in terms of a tendency to establish paradigmatic symmetry or to fill

"holes in the system") and at the morphological level (usually in terms of analogy, achieving paradigmatic regularity); but these two levels have the function of giving formal expression to the deeper level of meaning, and it is on this level that attention will be concentrated here. We therefore need a descriptive device for this level in terms of which diachronic change can be accounted for, that is, in terms of which an answer can be offered to the question of why certain developments have occurred.

So we must set up a semantic construct to which we can relate the tense forms of the various linguistic stages we are concerned with. As was seen in relation to the approaches of Bull and Heger, a semantic construct which remains constant in spite of changes in the more superficial formal distinctions is an advantage, but if it is to be used to explain changes it cannot be an extra-linguistic device; it must be part of the grammar of the language or languages in question, and therefore have psychological reality for the speakers of the language or languages. We cannot assume that such a construct will be a linguistic universal, though it may well be at least in part.

The framework described below appears similar to those of Bull and Heger, in that it is a conceptual system into which we may insert surface linguistic forms, but we shall see that the assumptions behind it are quite different. The approach adopted is, in fact, neither purely onomasiological nor purely semasiological, but it embraces elements of both these methods of analysis. Its justification will follow its description,

in order that the assumptions which might be made, but are not, should be more clearly appreciated.

Time can be seen as an endless continuum which might be represented by a straight line stretching from infinity in the past to infinity in the future. From an objective viewpoint this continuum could be divided in any number of ways, but the viewpoint of the language user is not objective; he contemplates the continuum of time from a point on that continuum. This point of observation, corresponding to the moment of utterance in verbal references to time, marks a dividing line on the continuum; this dividing line constitutes the speaker's present, and from it past and future can be defined. In view of this it might reasonably be assumed that in human language the three-way division of time into past, present and future is fundamental, and that references to events, situations or points in time are relational ones; events are thus seen as relative to other events or to already-mentioned points of time. In accordance with the first of these assumptions, the possible relations between events or points of time are the order relations of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority, corresponding to relations of direction on the straight line; the principal division of the continuum by the speaker into past, present and future is such a division into anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority, in relation to his utterance. All this corresponds to Bull's vector system and Heger's deixis. As Bull points out (9), one can perceive events in time in one of three ways, by recollection, observation or anticipation, and these

possibilities correspond to the basic order distinctions assumed.

If the present point corresponds to the utterance, past and future points may be placed anywhere before and after the present point on the time continuum. These three points, marking three references, need only apply to one particular utterance. For a succeeding utterance, whether or not produced by the same speaker, there will be a new present point, and reference to the past and future may of course place these two points in totally different positions from those they occupied in the first utterance.

We may now mark other distinctions in relation to these three "primary" points on our straight line, distinctions corresponding to Bull's vector forms. These secondary distinctions will also take the form of order relations and references will again be marked by points on continua stretching back and forward to infinity from the primary points. It is possible to have further distinctions made in relation to our secondary points (recalling Heger's system of twenty-seven time distinctions), but we can expect references to such relationships to be rare, and we need not be concerned with them further.

Each of these points indicates a relationship of anteriority, simultaneity or posteriority. The primary points are defined by their relationships to the utterance, and shall therefore be labelled "Utterance Anterior," "Utterance Simultaneous" and "Utterance Posterior," these terms being abbreviated for convenience to "Past," "Present" and "Future;" the

secondary points will be referred to as "Present Anterior," "Past Posterior," and so on. To avoid tiresome repetition of cumbersome terms, we shall henceforth refer to these labels in the abbreviated forms "Past," "Pres," "Fut," "Ant," "Sim," "Post." The system thus outlined may be represented diagrammatically on the line representing the continuum of time, as in Fig. 4.



Fig. 4

We can see from this representation that there is no quantitative limitation on the categories, so that, for example, the event referred to as Past Post does not necessarily occur before the Pres point, but may even occur after the Fut point; this is not to say, of course, that a particular language cannot have forms expressing intervals of time, or forms limited in application to relatively short or long intervals from the point they relate to (Spanish acabo de cantar is an example of the latter, a Pres Ant expressing temporal proximity to the Pres point, in contrast with he cantado, also Pres Ant, but without quantitative limitation). The order relationships underlying this system were found by Bull to be applicable to all the languages he investigated, and it might reasonably be claimed that this system has universal reality and underlies the tense systems of all languages.

An important point concerning these order relationships

must be stressed. The Past and Fut points are not defined in relation to the Pres point, but rather all three primary points are relative to the utterance. The fact that Past and Fut occur respectively before and after Pres is simply a consequence of their being anterior and posterior to the utterance, in relation to which Pres is simultaneous. Points referred to as relative to Pres are, of course, Pres Ant and Pres Post. These relationships are clearly brought out by Fig. 5, which demonstrates the heirarchical nature of the system.

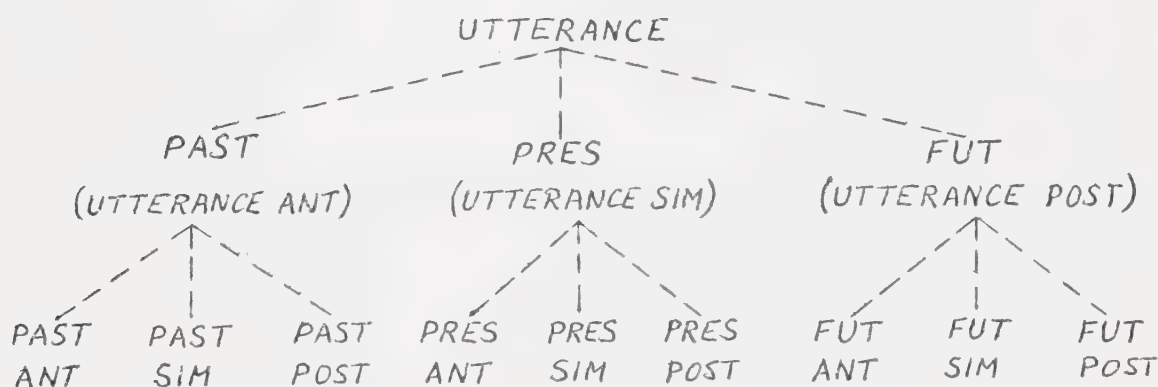


Fig. 5

It has been shown that the semantic construct just described can be regarded as a psychological universal, underlying the tense systems of all languages, if one is prepared to make the following assumptions: that all languages make distinctions based on temporal order relationships, that the three order relationships of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority are universally valid, and that all languages make a primary distinction of order in relation to the utterance and further distinctions in relation to the products of the

primary one. All the languages studied by Bull apparently conform to this pattern, and it therefore seems likely that these suggested assumptions are correct. It is, however, unnecessary to make them or to claim universality for our system, since we can show without such assumptions that it is valid for the Latin and Romance tense systems; it is sufficient that it should be applicable to the specific group of systems relevant to this study.

This system can be set up as a language-specific construct, but one underlying the systems of both Latin and Spanish and the stages in-between, because all these systems have two features in common: first, they allow order relationships to both the utterance and to points of time, and second, they allow the three order relationships of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority. A superficial examination of these languages reveals that this is the case. Latin amabam and Spanish amaba, both Past, show the relationship of anteriority to the utterance, while Latin amaveram and Spanish había amado, Past Anterior, show this same relationship to the Past point; the order relationships of simultaneity and posteriority appear in Latin amo and amabo and Spanish amo and amaré. The fact that these systems have these features in common need not be surprising, even if it is not due to a universal fact of language; these systems are diachronic stages in a continuous development, and there is no reason why the conceptual system should not remain constant in spite of changes at lower levels.

Aspect need be treated only briefly at this point, since it is a point on which language systems seem to differ more

than they do on time distinctions. Indeed, the aspectual position in Classical Latin is not the same as it is in Modern Spanish, so we will treat this question in more detail in our discussion of the Latin verb system. It is in order, however, to look at the distinction frequently referred to as perfective/imperfective, since this is relevant to Latin and all stages of Hispano-Romance.

Aspect is concerned with the nature of the notion referred to by the verb, and a reference in time may be to an event considered as a whole, or to a situation. These two possibilities correspond to the very common aspectual opposition usually termed "perfective/imperfective" or "punctual/durative." It is of course possible to make numerous other distinctions concerning the nature of the action, and Romance makes use of a category, usually termed "iterative," to refer to habitual action (as in He used to eat daisies); in Latin and Romance this category is combined with the one termed imperfective above in the Past (cantabam 'I was singing' or 'I used to sing'). The terms "perfective" and "imperfective" are also frequently used to designate a supposed opposition of aspect between an incomplete action and a completed one (as canto versus cantavi; cantabam versus cantaveram). In fact the distinction between the forms here is a temporal one, the so-called perfective forms expressing anteriority; the fact that the action of cantavi is complete at the present point is simply a consequence of its being anterior to this point.

It is now possible to see the explanatory value of our construct. Bull and Heger claim that their notional systems

represent objective reality, but this is not the same as being a linguistic universal; as has already been pointed out, there is no reason to believe that languages must reflect the logical categories. Since language does relate to reality we can expect that many, perhaps all, languages will show a great deal in common in their interpretation of time, and it is not surprising that Bull finds this to be the case; but this is not to say that there is any necessity for its being so. A linguistic universal must surely reflect some aspect of Man's inherited physical or psychological constitution which makes it necessary that his languages have a particular characteristic in common.

The hypothesis advanced here differs from those of Bull and Heger in claiming psychological reality, since it is founded on the semantic categories of a particular language, namely Latin (it also differs, of course, in the structure of the system proposed; compare Figs. 4 and 5 with Figs. 2 and 3). It may be that our construct is valid for all languages, but in view of the caution expressed above it will not be claimed as a universal; indeed, for the purposes of this investigation, it does not matter whether it is universal or not. Since it is based on observable facts about the relevant tense system it can fairly be claimed as a valid structure on which to base discussion and possible explanation of changes in that system; since the starting point of the changes concerned is Latin, it is sufficient that the semantic structure should be valid for Latin, but, as noted above, it also applies to later stages including Modern Spanish.

On the basis of two facts characteristic of the tense system of Latin, one is able to set up a conceptual system of which not all the categories are necessarily occupied by forms. When one thinks of the familiar "holes in the system" explanations in phonology, the possibilities for speculation are obvious; more realistically perhaps, consideration might be given to extra-grammatical factors (such as those referred to, causing greater differentiation of past relations than future ones) which might determine that certain categories are not likely to be formally reflected, or that the reflections of certain categories tend to be mutually exclusive. The principal concern of this study, however, is with how categories are reflected, and only brief attention will be paid to changes in which categories are formally reflected and which are not.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TENSES OF LATIN AND THE RISE OF HABERE COMPOUNDS

THE CLASSICAL LATIN VERB SYSTEM

We shall now analyse the tense forms of Classical Latin and relate them to our referential framework, to illustrate the latter and to provide a basis for discussion of the development of Romance analytical forms. Our semantic categories will be designated by the terms introduced above, and we shall use the conventional labels (perfect, pluperfect, future, etc.) to refer to forms.

It is noticeable that the hypothetical systems of Bull and Heger, similar in many respects to our own framework, do not agree with it regarding the Sim category. Bull's system is not hierarchical as is ours, so that an axis of orientation and a direction from that axis are on the same level; thus, there is no distinction between the axis of orientation (for instance PP) and that axis marked by a zero vector (PPØV). Heger's system is indeed hierarchical, but he has no category corresponding to our Sim; the term "Mit" never occurs at the end of a formula. He distinguishes Vorgegenwart from Vormitgegenwart, but he does not have a Mitgegenwart distinguished from Gegenwart. In our framework, Pres and Pres Sim are two quite distinct categories, and if this distinction is a real one, then Bull's and Heger's systems are defective in not having a mechanism for making it.

It is not immediately obvious whether or not there is any difference between the primary categories and the secondary ones simultaneous to them. There could well be, but for our purposes it can conveniently be ignored. It is possible that the difference between the imperfect cantabam and the historic perfect (preterite) cantavi might reflect a Past/Past Sim distinction as well as a distinction of aspect; as we shall see below, this is thought to be the case by some writers, and indeed, the correspondences between these two forms and the categories of time and aspect may be even more complex. We will leave the question open, and ignore any difference there may be between Past and Past Sim. In this way we can treat the hierarchical system of primary and secondary categories as if it were compressed into a single level; this will enable us to set up a two-dimensional matrix in which time distinctions appear against aspectual ones. This is not to treat all tense forms as corresponding to secondary categories, but is simply not to concern ourselves with any difference there may be between the primary categories and their corresponding secondary Sim ones; the understanding is that a form appearing in the Past/Past Sim column may in fact be just Past or just Past Sim.

Guillaume's classification of the Latin verb forms into two sub-systems parallels the Infectum/Perfectum division of Meillet, referred to or used by many writers (see for example Ronconi 1959, 41-46; Väänänen 1963, 139; Posner's classification by time and aspect is exactly the same, 1966, 191). This analysis is based on the opposition of two aspectual series,

the Infectum (denoting incomplete action or action in the course of development) and the Perfectum (denoting complete action).

Guillaume's description of this division as temporal (present versus past) is more acceptable than the labelling of it as an aspectual distinction; the Perfectum simply indicates anteriority. Väänänen makes clear the temporal nature of the division when he describes the pluperfect (cantaveram) as referring to a past action anterior to another past action, and the perfect as properly referring to the present result of a past action. Ronconi says that Meillet's rigid scheme is inadequate since all the Latin tenses, except the imperfect, can be either perfective or imperfective; the present, for instance, can be perfective in its historic use (that is, when it is used to give greater vividness to an account of events that actually happened in the past). Ronconi is clearly taking aspect to refer to the distinction between events and states; he prefers to classify the Latin verb system in terms of "absolute" and "relative" tenses, apparently corresponding to our primary and secondary time references (he says that absolute tenses are relative in the sense that they imply a relationship to the moment of utterance).

If a tense form is taken to refer to the present result of an action, the result being that the action is complete, then the reference is not to an aspect of the present but simply to anteriority to the present. A form like cantavit 'he has sung' contains a clear reference to the act of singing, and in no sense does that act take place in present time.

There is also an explicit reference to the present, since the form conveys the information that at the present moment the act is past; similarly a future perfect form indicates that at a certain point in the future the action referred to will be past. If a given event takes place before a particular point in time, then it follows that the event is complete at that point. As we have already stated, a secondary time reference contains two constituent references, one to an event or situation, and one to a state where that event or situation is gone, contemporaneous, or yet to come.

The separating of the Latin forms into two series as described above completely ignores the fact that in Classical Latin the form cantavi had two distinct functions, referring, in our terms, both to Past events and to Pres Ant actions. That these functions were felt to be distinct is made clear by the contexts in which the forms occurred; according to the "sequence of tenses," the tense of the main verb in a sentence determined the tenses of subordinate verbs in the subjunctive, and the perfect form of the main verb was accompanied by either an imperfect or a present subjunctive, depending on whether the reference was to Past or Pres Ant.² For example:

<u>Heri feci ut veniret</u>	'Yesterday I caused him to come.'
<u>Hodie feci ut veniat</u>	'Today I have caused him to come.'

It will be seen that two quite distinct forms develop in Romance corresponding to these two functions.

The following brief description of the functions of the six indicative forms of Classical Latin is based largely on the accounts of Bassols (1948, 193-380) and Ronconi (48-108).

We will only relate what are generally taken to be the principal functions of the forms, and ignore the numerous secondary uses (or "nonsystemic" functions in Bull's terms); most descriptions of the uses of Latin tenses are based on literary works, in which choice of tenses is frequently stylistically motivated. Many of these uses (such as "historic present," "imperfect of politeness") are, in fact, merely extensions of the basic senses. We shall illustrate our description with the forms of a regular first conjugation verb, cantare,³ and a verb of the third conjugation, dicere.

The present (canto, dico) indicates an action or state simultaneous with the act of speaking (or, in the case of the historic use, imagined to be simultaneous with the act of speaking). Bassols suggests that the greater ability of this tense to be used to refer to actions which objectively are in the past or future is due to the central position of the present between past and future (and therefore close to both); he also notes that in primitive Indo-European its use was not restricted by the creation of new forms for past and future. In our terms this tense is Pres (or Pres Sim).

The imperfect (cantabam, dicebam) refers to the past, but is aspectually limited. It is used to refer to the unfolding of an event rather than to the action as a whole; in other words, it denotes a state or situation (which may be part of an event) rather than simply an event. According to Bassols (225) and Ronconi (46), this amounts to simultaneity with another event. This may be the case, but whether it is or not, it is certain that the imperfect is characterised by an

aspectual feature relating to description. The imperfect is also used to indicate habitual action and custom, and this too can be treated as an aspectual function; according to Bassols, this iterative use is perfectly in accord with the descriptive or "durational" use just mentioned, since a chain of intermittent actions can be regarded as a continuous state or situation. This form, then, is classified as Past, and is aspectually restricted to description and to habitual action.

The future (cantabo, dicam) is used to situate the verbal action in the future. Its many modal uses may be attributed to the fact that the forms are subjunctive in origin;⁴ in the third and fourth conjugations, the first person singular is identical in future indicative and present subjunctive (legam, audiam). An action could be located in the future by a form representing the category Pres Post, and the assignation of the future tense to this category might be supported by the fact that forms in -bo are in origin compounds containing a present subjunctive of the verb 'to be.' But this could not be known to the speakers of Latin, and the forms noted above in -am are the only ones coinciding with contemporary present subjunctive forms; also, the formal parallelism of the future in -bo with the imperfect in -bam (which was certainly Past, not Pres Ant) might well influence the value given to the future tense by the speakers. The form is, then, most likely Fut.

The perfect (cantavi, dixi) has, as we have already noted, two distinct functions. The "historic" use refers to a past

event considered in its totality. In this function the form is Past, and aspectually it is the complement of the imperfect. In Past time, then, we have an opposition between cantavi, used for narrating events, and cantabam, used for description and to refer to habitual action. There is considerable confusion in the use of traditional terms denoting aspect, and the various labels used for aspectual oppositions (perfective versus imperfective, punctual versus durative) are used in various, often far from clear, senses. The terms best fitting our distinction between reference to event and reference to situation are Narrative and Descriptive, traditionally used to refer to two types of discourse (see Posner, 190), and for the sake of avoiding the imprecise associations of the usual terms we shall risk adding to the confusion by adopting these labels, along with the term Habitual (the three abbreviated to Narr, Desc and Hab). Cantavi and cantabam, then, are opposed as Past Narr versus Past Desc-Hab.

The second function of the perfect is, as we have already made clear, Pres Ant. The perfect form is sometimes said to have these two functions as a result of relatively late developments in a system originally comprised of the two symmetrical series of Meillet, the Past Narr function being an extension of the original Pres Ant function. This is the view of Väänänen (139): "... le parfait a acquis une valeur secondaire de prétérit ..." This is probably not the case, however, since the Latin perfect is the result of the coalescence of two Indo-European tenses, the perfect and the aorist, the latter conveying the sense of the Latin historic perfect, Past Narr

(Bassols, 245-246; Palmer 1954, 266, 272, 307-308; Kent 1946, 114-120). Bassols thinks that the forms of these two tenses fell together because they had come to be used interchangeably, but it is equally possible that the surviving forms acquired the two functions because there had ceased to be two sets of forms. Whichever of these accounts is correct, it appears that the double value of the Latin perfect stems at least from the time when the formal distinction between the old aorist and perfect was lost.

The pluperfect (cantaveram, dixeram) expresses a past action anterior to another past action, and is therefore Past Ant. Similarly, the future perfect (cantavero, dixero) expresses anteriority to a future action, and is therefore Fut Ant.

We can now represent diagrammatically the time and aspect system of Latin, as in Fig. 6.

TIME ASPECT	PAST			PRES			FUT		
	ANT	(SIM)	POST	ANT	(SIM)	POST	ANT	(SIM)	POST
DESC-HAB	canta- veram	cantabam		cantavi	canto		canta- vero	cantabo	
NARR		cantavi							

Fig. 6

It is immediately noticeable that the Post boxes are not occupied; as well as making primary distinctions of both anteriority and posteriority, Latin makes secondary Ant distinctions but not Post ones. Actually, the situation is not so simple; Post distinctions can be made in indirect speech by means of an infinitive construction: Dixit se venturum esse 'He said

he would come.' But the fact remains that there is no finite verb form to express posteriority to a point of time.

We see also that an aspectual opposition occurs only in Past. It seems that the existence of an extra form permitting greater subtlety in the Past time fulfils a genuine need, or at least plays a useful part, since this situation has persisted in Romance to the present day.

Desc and Hab are represented by the same form, and a single label could have been adopted to cover both; the only reason for not doing so is that a periphrasis has developed in Spanish to express Desc alone: estaba cantando (this construction is, of course, not limited to Past). The Hab aspect could quite conceivably have been combined with Narr rather than Desc; it might be described as representing a state of repeated events, and it seems that Latin simply concentrates on the state rather than the events.

TWO VULGAR LATIN DEVELOPMENTS

Our principal concern is with the rise in Latin of the two compound tenses from which are descended the Modern Spanish "perfect" and "future" tenses; the first consists of a combination of the verb habere with the past participle, and the second of the infinitive with habere. The developments from which these formations resulted belong to the spoken language, and we must address ourselves to the question of the relationship between spoken, or "Vulgar," Latin, and Classical Latin, the written language, of which we have just outlined the tense system.

Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin were not two chronological stages in the evolution of Latin, the second being a "corruption" of the first, but they were rather two linguistic varieties existing side by side. The written language was a somewhat artificial medium for official and literary purposes, moulded for the latter in imitation of Greek, the language of the most advanced culture of the time. It was codified and, as written usage is conservative everywhere, underwent little change. Meanwhile, the spoken tongue was developing constantly, little restrained by the practices of writers and the pronouncements of grammarians, the guardians of written standards; and it is, of course, from the various dialects of spoken Latin that the Romance languages derive. The situation is well illustrated by the diagram given by Pulgram in his article on written and spoken Latin (1950), which shows that the written language originated from speech, but that the two diverged more and more as speech developed and writing remained relatively static (Fig. 7).

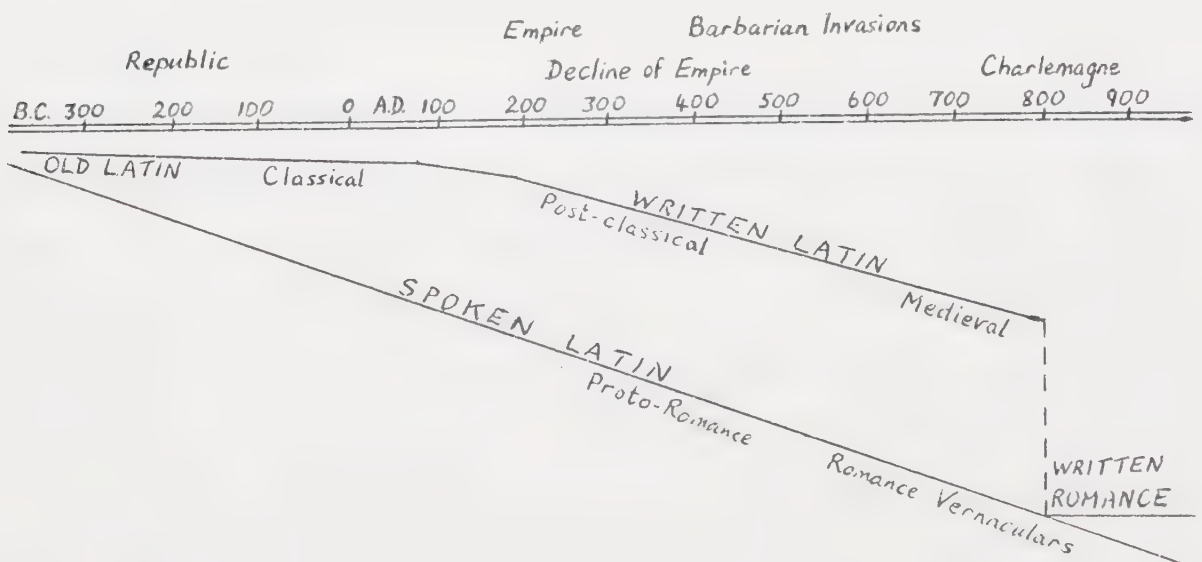


Fig. 7

As Pulgram says, we have very little direct evidence of what belongs to the bottom line of the diagram. Writers such as Plautus and Petronius, and Latin inscriptions and graffiti, give us some clues about the nature of spoken Latin, but no more than clues. Deliberate imitation of speech by a writer demands considerable skill, and there is great stylisation in the language of even Plautus' comedies (Palmer 1954, 85-88). Learning to write always means learning to write the written language, with the result that we commonly say things which we would never write, and vice versa; for this reason, even graffiti and popular inscriptions are not likely to be a very accurate reflection of popular speech. Almost all documents, then, will be attempts at the classical language, and will exemplify the vulgar tongue only in those parts where the writer's insufficient instruction causes him to make errors. The so-called "Vulgar Latin" documents of the late Empire properly belong to the top line of the diagram where this line is sloping down, under the weight of writers whose attempts at writing Classical Latin were increasingly not all that they might be.

Now, if an account is going to be given of the appearance of our compound tenses, one is implying quite clearly that there was a time when spoken Latin did not have them, and if one cannot claim them to be the result of the breakdown of a literary tradition, one must produce the original tense system from which they sprang. But having rejected the myth of a Classical tongue which became corrupted and broke down to give Vulgar Latin and ultimately the Romance languages, one

must take care not to go to the opposite extreme and overstate the differences between written and spoken Latin. There is, in fact, good reason to believe that we can take as a starting point to our discussion the tense system we have described for Classical Latin.

If we trace a written tradition back to its beginnings we find ultimately that it is created out of a spoken language. It can therefore be assumed that at one stage written and spoken Latin were more or less alike, the written language being an attempt to represent visually what the author might say. The idea that written Latin reflects the spoken idiom at one time appears in Pulgram's sketch, which shows that in Old Latin times the two linguistic varieties had not yet diverged very far; as Pulgram notes, there is nothing new in the theory that written Old Latin is more akin to contemporary popular speech than is Classical Latin.

Now, since, as we have said, a written language, once established, tends not to change very much, it seems probable that the main features of our description of the Classical Latin tense system can be taken as characteristic of the spoken usage of one time, perhaps around the early third century B. C. Therefore we can tentatively conclude that since the compound tenses with habere do not appear in Classical Latin, they were not used in spoken Latin at the time when the written idiom branched off.

But did these periphrases spring from a tense system akin to that from which the written language's system stems, or did the spoken tongue undergo various developments between the

breaking away of the written medium and the emergence of our periphrases? In other words, did these periphrastic tenses arise from the tense system which passed into writing, or from a later system which developed from this, and about which we know nothing? This latter possibility might seem plausible in view of the fact that there is, as will be shown below, a considerable space of time between the rise of literature and the appearance of the compound tenses. But it is unlikely that the written language would be so far removed from the spoken as to have a very different tense system, even in the Classical period, for written Latin is not a completely static linguistic fossil but is a living and developing instrument of communication. Between the early language of Plautus and Ennius (both about 200 B. C.) and the Classical Latin of Cicero (1st century B. C.) numerous changes take place. Examples of spelling changes, reflecting developments in pronunciation, are the loss of final -d in mēd, tēd, sēd (Palmer, 85, 258) and the change of vo- to ve- as in vetare, vester, from Old Latin votare, voster (Palmer 84, 89, 216); in the verb, sigmatic future perfects like faxo, capso, are lost (Palmer, 84; Bassols 1948, 323-328).

How could the written language have undergone such evolution, except under the influence of speech? As Pulgram says (465), there would be a continual crossing of influence between the two lines of the diagram. Old Latin, as any written language, would be standardised, but without a rigid policy of fixing of forms on the part of a strong body of grammarians it would interact with the spoken language sufficiently to

undergo the changes noted above. The vulgar features of post-classical texts likewise derive from speech, and the spoken language itself would no doubt be influenced in its development by the existence of a prestigious literary tradition. The classical period, in the restricted sense of the term, when a now codified and artificial language was used to produce the greatest of Rome's literature, was not long enough to widen very greatly the gulf between writing and speech.

Also, something approaching the language of writing was spoken, as an upper class idiom and perhaps as a "lingua franca" throughout the Empire (Pulgram, 463). Obviously there would be considerable differences of style and choice of vocabulary between the language of literature and that of speech, as the more familiar style of Cicero's letters makes clear; but the principal distinction made by contemporary commentators is that between cultivated usage (sermo urbanus) and the various popular types of speech (sermo rusticus, sermo plebeius). And there must have been considerable proximity and interaction between the popular dialects and the lingua franca of the empire, for numerous linguistic innovations (including the introduction of the compound "perfect" and "future" tenses) were diffused throughout Romania.

We can expect that the differences between written and popular Latin were greater in some aspects of the language than others. The modern English language shows us that considerable differences of pronunciation can exist without comprehension being greatly hindered, and the evidence of

reconstruction indicates that the vocabulary of Vulgar Latin contained many items which did not appear in literary works, and that it had abandoned many items which literature kept artificially alive. But it appears that, until the relatively late emergence of the periphrastic tense forms with habere, the tense forms we have given for Classical Latin are substantially valid for Vulgar Latin too.

The use of these periphrases as tense forms does not appear in writing until very late and is not referred to by grammarians; it seems certain to be a post-classical development. To be of such extensive currency in classical times as the modern languages show them to have become at some stage, they would surely exist in upper-class speech as well as Vulgar Latin, and we would expect to find evidence of them in writing.

The constructions with habere and the past participle or infinitive do of course exist in Classical Latin, the one with the past participle being found as early as Plautus. But they are not yet used in the sense of tense categories; the verb habere is not a simple auxiliary, but has its full lexical value in the one case, and expresses obligation in the other. If the new value of these constructions as tense forms were established in speech in the classical period, it is unlikely that they would continue to be used in writing with the old meanings until as late as in fact they did. In spite of the use of the common idiom by Christian writers, the use of habere with the past participle to express pure anteriority does not appear with certainty before the 4th century (Bassols,

276-277), and habere with the infinitive to express future time is first attested in Tertullian who wrote about 200 A. D. (Bassols, 303-307).

Finally, perhaps the strongest evidence for the similarity of the Classical Latin tense system to that of the contemporary spoken idiom is the fact that apart from the reflexes of these Vulgar Latin periphrases, all the indicative tenses of Modern Spanish (present, imperfect, preterite) derive directly from their morphological equivalents in Classical Latin, by straightforward phonological development. Thus, Classical Latin canto, cantabam, cantavi, give Spanish canto, cantaba, canté, respectively.

It seems fairly certain, therefore, that before the emergence of the compounds, the tense system of Vulgar Latin was essentially the same as that of Classical Latin.

HABEO CANTATUM

The perfect form which we see in Classical Latin with two functions, Past Narr and Pres Ant, was replaced as regards the second of these functions by the periphrasis consisting of the present tense of the verb habere 'to have' and the past participle, cantavi giving way to habeo cantatum. The origins of this construction can be traced back to Plautus, who frequently used the verb habere in conjunction with a noun qualified by a past participle. There was full agreement between the noun and the past participle, and since the noun was the object of habere, the past participle would always be in the accusative case. Examples from Plautus are Habeo cultellum

comparatum 'I have a knife bought,' multa bona bene parte habemus 'we have a well-acquired fortune,' abstrusam habebam 'I kept her hidden,' and from Terence: nostram adulescentiam habent despiciatam 'they hold our youth in scorn.' In these expressions habere and the past participle keep their autonomy; habere has its full lexical meaning, and the past participle is, in terms of the structure of the sentence, equivalent to an adjective, so that habeo cultellum comparatum is structurally no different from habeo cultellum longum (Väänänen 1963, 139; Elcock 1960, 108; Palmer 1954, 166-167, 327; Bassols 1948, 275-276; Bourciez 1930, 116). Bassols says that the construction originally fulfilled a purpose for which the perfect tense was inadequate, to express the persistence in the present of the results of a past action; habeo expressed the present state and the past participle the past action, and the construction habeo scriptum was equivalent to the Modern Spanish tengo escrito. This is in essence correct, but it misses the point that the person for whom the results of the action persisted, the subject of habeo, was not necessarily the same as the person by whom that action had been carried out.

The same construction continues to be used in the classical period, as in Cicero's in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent 'they have great sums placed in that province.' In the prose of this period it becomes common to use the construction with past participles referring to activity of an intellectual nature, where the resultant state represents an effect on the subject more than on the object,

participles such as statutum, cognitum, compertum. With these expressions, the notion of possession is less clearly felt, as we see in Cicero's si habes iam statutum, quid ... (Bourciez 116-117, Bassols 276).

Habere with the past participle was increasingly employed by Christian writers, and gradually the sense evolved until the two elements became a single grammatical unit expressing the anteriority of an event to the present, habere having lost its lexical value of designating possession to become a temporal auxiliary. But the full semantic development was not reached until a relatively late period, at least in writing, and for a long time the old sense and the new, purely temporal one appear to co-exist. Bourciez suggests that the change in sense began to be felt in the 1st century A. D., and it was certainly established in speech everywhere towards the end of the empire. The first examples of the Pres Ant sense date from the 4th century, and occurrences are frequent in the Merovingian texts. Examples are: Augustine, metuo enim ne ibi vos habeam fatigatos 'for I fear I have tired you,' Oribasius, haec omnia probatum habemus 'we have tried all these,' Gregory of Tours, episcopum invitatum habes 'you have invited the bishop,' Peregrinatio Aetheriae, ubi ipsi castra posita habebant 'where they had placed the camp.' It will be noticed from the example from Oribasius that agreement between the past participle and the object no longer obtains (Bourciez, 117, 268-269; Bassols, 277; Palmer, 166-167; Elcock, 38, 109; Väänänen, 139).

Although the periphrasis thus became equivalent to the

perfect tense in one of its functions it did not immediately oust the older form in this function, and the earliest Romance texts, like the Late Latin ones, do not show a clear distinction in use between the two forms. Bassols states that Spanish did not fix the respective zones of the two tense forms until the 17th century (277) and indeed, Grandgent says (1962, 55) that even today the synthetic form has not entirely lost the Pres Ant meaning. Moreover, the original sense of the periphrasis has left traces in the modern languages, as shown by il a ses vêtements déchirés beside il a déchiré ses vêtements (Bourciez, 117).

Though habere lost its independence in the evolution of the periphrasis into a tense form, it did not cease to conjugate fully when used as an auxiliary, and tenses and moods other than the present indicative might still be used with the past participle. A periphrastic pluperfect (Past Ant) tense therefore developed parallel to the new present perfect, formed with the imperfect or preterite (the old perfect form) of the auxiliary: quod ... de fisco nostro comparatum habebat, Matthaeum quem ante te ibi missum habui (Elcock, 109; Väänänen, 140).

Habere was rivalled by tenere in the sense of 'to have' in Iberia, and tenere is found early instead of habere as the perfect auxiliary: Galli Roman captam incensamque tenuerunt (Bourciez, 269). Tenere was, in fact, found in the classical period and earlier with the past participle, and with little, if any, difference in meaning from habere with the past participle: legiones premi et circumventas teneri (Bassols, 278)

Spanish, of course, adopted tener as its usual verb for 'to have,' but retained haber as the auxiliary for compound tenses. Tener is still used with the past participle, but it keeps the original, Classical Latin, sense of the habere + past participle construction; the participle is variable, agreeing with the object of tener, the two elements are separable, and the combination is not formed with the past participle of intransitive verbs (Hanssen 1913, 233-234).

In Latin, deponent verbs and verbs in the passive voice formed their perfect tense by a periphrasis consisting of the past participle and the verb esse 'to be.' In spoken Latin a change took place at some stage whereby the passive voice lost its synthetic forms, replacing them by the past participle (which now became rather a "present passive participle") and the appropriate tense of esse. Thus, the present passive of amare 'to love,' amor in Classical Latin, was now expressed by amatus sum, which earlier had been the perfect passive form. The passive of the perfect tense now came to be expressed by means of an appropriate form of the periphrasis habere amatum. But deponent verbs, such as sequi 'to follow,' continued to form their perfect tense in the old way, secutus sum (even though they otherwise dropped their passive form). These apparently provided the model for the use of esse in the Ant tenses of some intransitive verbs and reflexive verbs (Elcock, 109; Bourciez, 267). Elcock says that in Iberia the compound tenses of all active verbs were constructed with habere, the verb esse being restricted to the passive, but in fact some verbs (mostly indicating motion) are conjugated in

the perfect with ser in Old Spanish (for example es venido 'he has come'), though the general use of haber is also found early, as arrivado han las naves (Cid), and grows from the 14th century (Hanssen, 232).

CANTARE HABEO

The process by which the Latin synthetic future form fell out of favour in speech seems to have been a long one, people tending early to substitute the present tense for it. A variety of periphrastic constructions came to be favoured to refer to future actions, and of those current in the late empire the most successful was that consisting of the infinitive with the present tense of habere, which is the basis for the future tenses of most of the modern Romance languages (Väänänen, 140-141; Bourciez, 75).

Habere with the infinitive is not found in Old Latin writings, and the first examples go back to Cicero, who presumably drew it from spoken Latin; it still occurs only sporadically, however, in his writings and those of other authors of his time. The value of the construction at this period is clearly not that of simple futurity; in Cicero it seems generally to signify probability: habeo enim dicere quem ... de ponte in Tiberim deiecerit, De re publica nihil habeo ad te scribere, and Seneca uses it apparently to indicate necessity: venit ad me pater: quid habui facere? (Bassols, 304; Bourciez, 117-118). In some cases, as the example here from Seneca, it is uncertain whether in fact possibility or necessity is indicated, and Müller (1970, 405)

suggests that the construction originally signified the possession, in a sense, of something, either as a wish, a possibility or a necessity, which might be done; habere, then, did not acquire these various meanings with time, but enveloped them all. Müller also discusses the possibility that apparently superficial variations on this construction (such as litteras scribere habeo and scribere habeo without an object) are not to be considered as always having been the same construction (406). It is possible that the original construction required an object, which was the object, not of the infinitive, but of habeo, so that the idea was of possession of something which might be acted upon. Hoc habeo dicere would thus be the same as hoc habeo quod dicam, and the infinitive only later was taken as the object of habeo. The difference between these two uses is the same as that in Modern Spanish between tengo algo que decir and tengo que decir algo.

The periphrasis continues to be used by Latin Latin writers with the force of necessity, as in the Periegrinatio Aetheriae: vallem nos traversare habebamus (Palmer, 165), but its use simply to express futurity becomes frequent. The first writer to offer examples with purely temporal value is Tertullian, about the beginning of the 3rd century, but he only does so in some cases, and most occurrences of the construction in his work still have "modal" significance. His ad futuram gloriam quae in nos habet revelari is a quotation from St. Paul, construed by other Latin writers with a simple future. In the writings of the Church Fathers, this value

becomes more frequent: Augustine, Tempestas illa tollere habet totam paleam, and the periphrasis is eventually able to replace the old future tense form. The 7th-century Gronovius paraphrases a passage from Cicero using habere with the infinitive for Cicero's future forms, and the future sense is clear in this example from the Lombard Laws: ... si non eum feriveris ego te ferire habeo, where an old future perfect form is also used (Bassols, 304-306; Bourciez, 118). We cannot say when the synthetic future forms ceased to be used in speech, but their use in writing is very sporadic in France in the Merovingian period; habere with the infinitive might be avoided as vulgar, but the present subjunctive or future perfect was generally used rather than the future. When the latter does occur, it is often confused with other tenses: convinit ut qui pare suo superstetis aderat res pare suo possediri debirit, where aderat is used for aderit (Bassols, 303).

Those areas of Romania which made a future tense from cantare habeo also developed a "future-in-the-past," conveyed by cantare with a past tense of habere; this of course led to the conditional of the modern languages. There was at first hesitation between the imperfect and the preterite of the auxiliary, but the former soon came to predominate in Iberia (Elcock, 107). Bassols points out that in early occurrences of the new tense forms, the auxiliary was used more frequently in the imperfect than the present; the new future tense, then, seems to have followed the creation of the new future-in-the-past, but with time it increased in importance. The form with

the auxiliary in the past is no doubt at first simply future-in-the-past rather than conditional, and the first attested potential use is from Augustine: sanare te habebat Deus per indulgentiam si fatereris (Bassols, 307-308). The first examples, in Tertullian, also show the infinitive almost always in the passive, and Bassols suggests that the construction advances by the lines of least resistance. It seems the passive amabitur was less popular than the active amabit, and was therefore less resistant to substitution (Bassols, 302-303). Other combinations did not survive, as Tertullian's tamquam ovis ad victimam adduci habens, where the auxiliary is in the present participle form and the infinitive is passive, apparently making up for the lack of a future passive participle (Bassols, 305).

As regards word order in the new future periphrasis, Iberia came to use habeo cantare or cantare habeo indifferently; both are in evidence in the 12th-century Poema de Mio Cid, though the latter is more usual. Cantare habeo must have been preferred in the late spoken Latin of Gaul and Italy, since the earliest occurrences in Old French and Old Italian show the auxiliary agglutinated to the infinitive, as in the salvarai, prindrai of the Strassburg Oaths of 842; in fact the first attestation of this agglutination is in Fredegar's Chronicle of the 7th century: et ille respondebat 'non dabo,' Justinianus dicebat 'daras' (Elcock, 106-107; Bassols, 306).

As has been stated above, habere with the infinitive is not the only periphrasis used in spoken Latin as a substitute for the future. The future participle, though otherwise rare

in Vulgar Latin, is used for this purpose quite frequently: redditurus sit (Peregrinatio Aetheriae), habitori sumus munus (Petronius); the gerundive is also occasionally found signifying futurity, as in Filastrius: qui baptizandi sunt (Väänänen, 141; Palmer, 167). But the only periphrases to survive to modern times are ones consisting of an infinitive construction. Apart from habere, the infinitive is found commonly with debere and velle. Examples of these in which the idea of obligation, volition or possibility is slight or absent are: si dixero tibi quis te occidere debebit, tu occides illum (Historia Alexandri), iam servire volunt (Corippus). Debere survived in Sardinian to form the future, and velle in Roumanian (Väänänen, 141; Bassols, 308-310).

These periphrases completely displaced the old future forms, and only the synthetic form of esse survived in Romance languages, being attested in Old French and Provençal. In Iberia, too, it must have lasted long enough for Castilian to adopt eres as its second person singular form of the present tense of ser (Elcock, 107).

CHAPTER THREE

CAUSES OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE COMPOUND PERFECT AND FUTURE

SOME COMMON THEORIES

Few attempts have been made to account for the development of the habeo cantatum periphrasis, perhaps because one apparently useful result of the new tense form is immediately obvious, and no other reasons for its adoption spring readily to mind. As we have had occasion to note several times, the Latin synthetic perfect form had two distinct functions, and the new compound perfect relieved it of one of these, thus re-establishing a one-to-one correspondence between the temporal categories and the forms available for their expression. This tidying up of the verbal system is at the basis of the suggestions of a number of writers concerning why the periphrasis partly displaced the old perfect forms, but as a "cause" it appears in more than one version. Bassols suggests that when the periphrasis eventually acquired the sense of Pres Ant, it could replace the synthetic form as regards this sense, leaving the latter form to express the "absolute" past (277). Grandgent says similarly that the compound supplanted the original perfect form more and more in popular speech, increasingly confining it to its aorist function (55). According to Väänänen, however (139), the synthetic perfect form was tending more and more to be confined to the Past Narr value, and because of this speakers had recourse to the habeo cantatum periphrasis

to express the Pres Ant category. The difference between these two accounts is considerable, and the gradual increase in the frequency of occurrence of the periphrasis, together with the long co-existence with it of the old form, apparently still with the Pres Ant sense, makes it seem unlikely that habeo cantatum entered the tense system to fill a gap left by a semantic shift on the part of cantavi.

With both these suggested explanations the question arises of why habeo cantatum underwent the development of meaning to make it partly equivalent to cantavi. There is an obvious proximity in meaning between the original value of habeo cantatum and the value it finally acquired; Palmer says that from the start it was sometimes hardly distinguishable in meaning from the present perfect tense, as in Plautus' hasce aedis conductas habet (327). Bourciez points out (116-117) that if the possessor, the subject of habere, happened also in a particular case to be the subject of the action indicated by the past participle, then one can conceive that the idea of possession might weaken and be gradually relegated to the background; if such cases were frequent, it might come to be accepted that the subject of habere and the agent of the action marked by the past participle were necessarily the same. The final step from here to the Pres Ant meaning is a small one, involving the dropping of the possessive idea, and could be achieved by the extension of the construction to verbs used without an object. But why would this occur? It is possible that the need to fill a gap brought about by a tendency to restrict the sense of cantavi, or an unconscious desire on the

part of speakers to differentiate formally the two functions of cantavi, might provide the necessary pressure. But the accounts of Bassols and Grandgent require that habeo cantatum already had the Pres Ant sense before it could begin to replace cantavi.

Bassols believes that the forms of the compound construction had an advantage in competition with the old synthetic pluperfect and future perfect forms in that they indicated with greater clarity the meanings they bore (385); to clarify this in terms of our own semantic categories, a notion such as Past Ant contains two elements, and these are more clearly expressed by the two words habebam cantatum, the first standing for Past and the second for Ant, than by the simple form cantaveram. This is true also of habeo cantatum as against the present perfect cantavi, and even more so, since the latter form cannot be broken down to reveal a morpheme indicating the primary time distinction as can cantaveram (where eram is formally just as much a Past element as is habebam). Bassols' point here is a significant one, and we shall have occasion to come back to it.

Bourciez too notes that the construction was expressive, and Elcock attributes its rise to the exuberance of popular speech (108). He does not see any linguistic need requiring fulfilment in the Past and Ant tenses, and believes that the partial replacement of the old Ant forms by a new construction is the result of a syntactic accident.

Benveniste, in an article dealing with periphrasis, or "auxiliation" (1968, 86-89), suggests that attempts to explain the semantic shift of habeo cantatum on the basis of closeness

of meaning between its original sense and the temporal sense it acquired miss the point. He believes that the path taken by the shift, starting from a particular use of the "syntagm" habeo cantatum, accounts for the development. There are, he says, a set of strict conditions which must be fulfilled for habere and the past participle to become a compound tense form. The verb habere has two meanings, corresponding to English 'hold' and 'have,' and the significance of the difference between them has not been properly appreciated. The "auxiliate," the element conveying the lexical sense of the periphrasis, in this case the past participle, may be taken either as an adjective (as are tacitus 'silent,' clausus 'closed,' subitus 'sudden') or as a verbal participle in the strict sense of the term; each of these functions of the past participle matches a single sense of habere and gives rise to a distinct syntagm. Habere 'hold' with the adjectival participle never realises the perfect tense, while habere 'have' with the verbal participle invariably does.

A further condition is that the verb involved in the periphrasis must denote "a 'sensory intellectual' process inherent in the subject rather than an 'operational' process brought to bear on an object external to the subject." Such verbs are those for 'understand,' 'discover,' 'realise,' 'notice,' 'see,' and he observes that it is verbs of this type that first favoured the periphrasis.

Thus, in hoc compertum habet 'he has learned this,' habet has the sense 'have,' 'possess,' compertum is a participle denoting the state in which the object is left, and the verb

comperire denotes a mental process. It is through the conjunction of these factors that the agent of comperire and the subject of habere coincide, and, since the process is stated as accomplished, yet connected with the present, it is considered to belong to a point of anteriority vis-à-vis the moment of utterance. Benveniste then has speakers generalising the syntactic model by extending it to other verbs, until the final stage is reached in expressions like episcopum invitatum habes (Gregory of Tours). It is at this point that the construction becomes a single bipartite form, the auxiliary habere being charged with the syntactic relations and the participle conveying the semantic kernel of the verb. The periphrasis then takes on the Ant function of the old perfect form, restricting this to its Past Narr sense (to use our own temporal terms). He believes that the essential nature of the development, thus outlined, does not come to light if we are content to state that the French il a une lettre écrite and il a ses vêtements déchirés are close in meaning to il a écrit une lettre and il a déchiré ses vêtements.

More ample attention has been given to the question of why the Latin future forms were replaced by a compound formation. Most treatments refer to the obvious formal factors which might make the survival of the synthetic forms unlikely. The Latin future tense lacked morphological unity; its formation in the first and second conjugations was quite distinct from its formation in the third and fourth conjugations (amabo, amabis, monebo, monebis, and legam, leges, audiam, audies).

There was, as a result, occasional confusion of types; the Atellan farces of Pomponius and Novius show dicebo, vivebo, and the forms habeam and audibo are also found (Väänänen, 140; Palmer, 150, 165; Bassols, 300).

It seems likely that phonological changes also contributed to the decline of the old future. The consonants b, /b/, and v, /w/, fell together intervocalically, with the result that forms of the future and perfect tenses in the first conjugation (amabit, amabimus, and amavit, amavimus) would cease to be distinguished. With the fusion of ē and ī, the formal difference between most forms of the future and present would be lost in the third conjugation (dicet, dicit; leget, legit). Another possible formal weakness of the future was the formal coincidence in the third and fourth conjugations of the first person form with that of the present subjunctive (legam, audiam), and Väänänen observes that all the forms of the future perfect, except the first person singular, coincided with those of the perfect subjunctive (amaveris, dixerit). A number of scholars point out also the formal proximity of the future forms of the first and second conjugations with the imperfect forms, apart from the first person singular (amabis, amabas; monebimus, monebamus), but these forms would not fall together in Hispano-Romance through sound change, and it is not certain whether speakers would be likely to confuse them (Väänänen, 140-141; Elcock, 106; Bassols, 300; Tagliavini 1969, 260; Kuen 1952, 157).

A number of scholars believe, however, that though the formal factors might well lead to difficulty and inconvenience,

they are not sufficient reason for the future forms to be abandoned. As Kuen says (157), the language could have resolved these problems by analogical re-formation, resulting in forms which might be found in Spanish as *cantavo, *durmievo; that this could have happened is borne out by such attested analogical forms as vivebo, audibo, referred to above. According to Vossler, the loss of the future forms was due to the loss of the future idea itself; with the loss of the classical culture a mental change took place causing speakers to discard the abstract and objective reference to future time. With the lower classes particularly, the contemplation of future action became affected by modal overtones, and it was preferred to refer to such action in terms of necessity. Bassols criticises this idea, saying that though the cultural level of the middle ages was in many ways deficient, it was greatly superior to that of the Italic peoples before their contact with Hellenic culture, when the future was referred to abstractly (Bassols, 301; Vossler 1954, 116-117). Vossler's view seems to rest on the patently false assumption that Vulgar Latin is the chronological result of the breakdown of the classical tradition, but it must be remembered, with reference to Bassols' comment, that the future tense had its origin in the subjunctive mood. Palmer expresses the opinion that throughout the history of Latin, the future remained true to its modal origin, and that when it disappeared, its place was quite naturally taken by periphrases of modal force (164-165). Kuen takes up Vossler's theory, without the notion of the corrupt origin of Vulgar Latin, and says that all of us, not merely the "niedere

Volk," conceive of future action quite differently from past and present action; we do not view them directly, but by way of notions of necessity, possibility or desire (157-158).

Elcock also offers psychological reasons for the loss of the Latin future (38, 105-106). He believes that one can well do without a future tense; for reference to an immediate future it is enough to envisage a present including the actions concerned, and primitive people seldom contemplate a more remote future. In Late Latin texts the present is often used to refer to future actions, as in the Peregrinatio Aetheriae: duco vos ibi "I will take you there." Elcock believes, then, that the formal inadequacy we have discussed played a part in discarding forms not vitally important for conversational purposes. Where the present was not adequate, one resorted to periphrases indicating intention or obligation, in which futurity is implicit, and it is partly because these periphrastic forms were at hand, and popular, that the old future was allowed to be abandoned.

Bassols suggests that the real cause of the introduction of the compound forms was a need for means to express concepts for which Latin had no forms (302; also Väänänen, 140). There was no "future-in-the-past" tense for indicating an action posterior to a past event (in our terms, Past Post). Latin expressed indirect speech by means of an infinitive, a future infinitive being used to indicate posteriority; this infinitive was the same whether the main verb was present or past: dicat se venturum esse 'he says he will come,' dicebat se venturum esse 'he said he would come.' This "accusative and infinitive"

construction was abandoned in spoken Latin, and dicit se venturum esse was replaced by dicit quod veniet, using the future tense, this construction being the ancestor of the modern dice que vendrá. But the future had also to be used when the main verb was past, there being no appropriate Past Post tense: dicebat quod veniet. Bassols believes the desire to fill this deficiency led to the use of venire habebat, and he says the proof is that in authors such as Tertullian, where the transition between the old synthetic and the new forms appears, venire habebam is much more frequent than venire habeo. So the rise of the periphrasis is the result of a desire, not for a new future form, but for a past-future. Once this was established, the language logically used other tenses and moods of habere with the infinitive; it came to be used frequently in the present, in the form destined to replace the Classical Latin future form.

Pulgram, in a thought-provoking article on typological changes between synthetic and analytic expression (1963), attempts to account for the adoption of a new form for futurity in the light of a general tendency discernible in Latin to move from synthesis to analysis. Inflected forms in which the syntactic signal is carried by a bound morpheme are replaced by constructions in which this signal is conveyed by a separate lexical item, a free morpheme. But the analytical future form of early Romance becomes synthetic again when habeo becomes agglutinated to the infinitive, as in French simerai. In addition, it seems that some of the bound morphemes of the earliest attested Indo-European forms may well have been free in

pre-historic times, coalescing with the root they modified and losing their separate shape and identity; and Latin amabo is reducible to an analytical (unrecorded) *ama bho, consisting of a verb stem with a form of the verb 'to be.' Pulgram hazards a prediction that Modern French vais aimer might similarly coalesce one day. He can therefore set up the sequence: *ama bho > amabo :: amare habeo > (j') aimerai :: je vais aimer > je *vaisaimer :: ? He discerns a possibly continuous sequence in which free morphemes become bound and the resulting synthetic forms are replaced by new analytical ones.

Most changes, Pulgram says, begin in popular, colloquial speech, since the less-educated majority are more likely to propagate deviations from incompletely-known social norms; the popular speech from which the modern Romance languages derive included analytical construction among its more important characteristics. If this kind of usage is characteristic of a certain type of speaker, then the causes of the change with which we are concerned may be ranked as a linguistic universal. A language does not have synthetic and analytic periods; rather, changes in both directions occur simultaneously. But the preponderance of analytical mutations in early Romance may be attributed to social conditions during the decline and fall of the empire. Pulgram believes that analysis, often resulting from redundancy, "aims at a kind of greater explicitness, emphasis, preciseness" (41). It stems from a desire to achieve certainty of communication by repetition and insistence, and does so by the support or replacement of bound morphemes by more "meaningful" lexical items that transmit a message more

strikingly.

Benveniste, in the article already referred to (1968, 89-91), points out that in Christian writers the overwhelming majority of examples of habere with the infinitive show that the periphrasis began with the passive infinitive, that it was used initially with the imperfect of habere, and that it was restricted to subordinate, chiefly relative, clauses. It was thus, to begin with, a highly specific construction. The underlying model was: ... in nationibus a quibus magis suscipi habebat, and if this meant 'among the nations by whom it had most to be accepted,' then the construction in no way rivalled the conventional future. It follows that habere did not mean 'to have to,' a meaning which would never have yielded a future tense; in this Latin syntagm it indicated predestination. Benveniste's view is similar to that of Bassols; he sees the periphrasis as answering the lack of a future passive participle and indicating predestination. Once entrenched, it spread first to independent clauses; then it admitted the infinitives of deponent and intransitive verbs, and finally those of all verbs. This final generalisation was not until the 6th or 7th century, and only then did it come to rival the future form. Latin then had two expressions for futurity, the conventional one, which, according to Benveniste, indicated intention, and one indicating predestination. The two inevitably clashed and became confused in various uses, and the traditional future form, formally and phonetically weak, lost out. As the word order infinitive + habere became fixed and led to coalescence, the mutation to an indissoluble

unit enabled the expression to replace the old future in the total verb paradigm.

POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF MEANING ON FORM

It is proposed now to consider the possible part played by a number of factors which can be presented in terms of the semantic framework we established for the Latin tense system. We do not deny the validity of the theories just discussed; indeed, the case for accepting many of the accounts offered is convincing. But an important point is made by those writers who say that the formal weakness of classical forms does not tell the whole story. One must beware of taking a single striking circumstance and calling it "the cause" of the change in question; language is far too complex, and our knowledge of it too rudimentary, for that; the factors that contribute to a given linguistic change may be innumerable, and the processes by which a given factor operates on a linguistic system are at present beyond us. All we can do is present factors which appear likely to have been instrumental in particular changes and hope they will bring us closer to a diachronic theory of language. Until we know more about the workings of language we simply cannot say that such-and-such a circumstance was the cause of such-and-such a development; the search for causation in historical linguistics, as in all historical study, must remain largely speculation. But if the complexity of the circumstances surrounding linguistic developments is kept in mind, it can be hoped that an imaginative approach may bring us nearer to understanding.

Most of the theories outlined above attempt to account for each of the compound tenses in isolation, and not without reason, for there are considerable differences between them. They will now be considered within the wider context of a general tendency towards analytic expression, and against the background of the semantic system underlying the tenses as a whole. This will lead to our seeing them in relation to each other. Pulgram says that languages do not have synthetic and analytic periods, but recognises that the formative period of the Romance languages was largely characterised by replacement of synthetic by analytic expression. The re-synthesis of the compound future is first attested in the 7th century, and the analytical characteristics of Romance were established well before that time, but whether or not there was a period of exclusively analytic developments does not matter.

It may be noticed that, up to now, we have referred to habeo cantatum and cantare habeo by the terms "periphrasis" and "compound," avoiding the use of "analytic" (except in referring to Pulgram's article on analysis and synthesis). This is so that we may now examine exactly in what sense these tense forms are analytic. A grammatical system is a set of processes correlating meanings with forms, and the forms are organised either synthetically or analytically (in fact, probably no language is exclusively analytic or synthetic). A synthetic construction is one in which the morpheme carrying a given signal is bound to a stem; the construction cannot be separated into units capable of functioning independently.

In an analytic construction, a given signal is carried by a free morpheme, an item having independent existence. A typological change, from synthesis to analysis replaces affixes by lexical items. It also frequently has the effect of simplifying and regularising the linguistic system. For synthetic constructions often convey a particular signal by a morpheme having a wide range of allomorphs, or variant forms, each belonging to a certain inflectional class. Thus, for example, possession in Latin is indicated by a number of suffixes (-ae, -i, -is, -us, to give only singular inflections), and the change to analytic expression replaced them all by the single preposition de. In some constructions, also generally classed as synthetic, it is not even possible to isolate the morpheme in question, as is the case with the plural morpheme in the English alternation man/men, as opposed to duck/ducks; it follows that it is not always possible to isolate a consistent lexical stem, as with Latin rex, regis. So we can say that a frequent effect of a change to analysis is the establishment of a one-to-one correspondence between semantic category and form.

Now to come to the two Vulgar Latin compound tenses. There is a considerable formal parallelism to be seen between them; both include an "auxiliate" (to use Benveniste's term) which bears the lexical content, and the present tense of the verb habere. Let us turn our attention first to the new perfect tense.

It is evident that the form habeo cantatum bears a close correspondence to the meaning it represents, in that it has

a present element (habeo) and a perfect element (cantatum) corresponding to the function summed up in the formula "present perfect"; there is nothing new in this observation (see Bassols' remarks on the subject, above). In the terms of our semantic framework, the bipartite category Pres Ant is expressed by the two formal elements habeo, explicitly indicating Pres, and cantatum, denoting Ant. It might be noted in this connection that Benveniste is in error when he defines the "auxiliate" as simply bearing the lexical content of the construction; cantatum indeed bears the lexical content, but it also has to indicate the temporal category Ant (which, being in Classical Latin a past passive participle, it is well suited to do), for there is no indication of anteriority in the form habeo. We might contrast habeo cantatum in this regard with the English periphrasis did look as in the expression Did you look? There is no secondary time distinction here; the only temporal concept conveyed is Past, and this is indicated by the auxiliary did, the "auxiliate" look conveying nothing but the lexical content.

So it is this correspondence of each of the two elements of the periphrasis habeo cantatum to an element of a bipartite semantic category that enables us to speak of it as analytic. We now propose that one of the factors in the development giving rise to this compound tense was precisely a subconscious desire on the part of speakers for a more direct correspondence of forms with meanings. Habeo cantatum is not, of course, wholly analytic; we have said that cantatum carried two signals (the temporal one being in the inflection -atum), and habeo

bears an inflection to denote that the subject is first person singular. But we suggest that a desire came about for a direct formal reflection of temporal categories, so that the two elements of the compound concept Pres Ant should each be represented by a formal unit. In the old form cantavi, the -y- might be regarded as indicating the category Ant, but other classes of verbs vary widely in their expression of this category; as for Pres, if the -i- represents this, it does not obviously do so, and depends for recognition on its combination with the stem.

All the Ant tenses were replaced by appropriate forms of the compound habere + past participle. In all of them the constant secondary time distinction, Ant, was reflected by the constant form cantatum, while the primary distinction, Past, Pres, or Fut, was represented by the appropriate tense of habere. Exactly why a desire for a formal reflection of the semantic categories in a particular area of the grammar arose at a particular time is impossible to say, but the possibility is that this preference exists constantly, and manifests itself when circumstances favour it or when the means are at hand to satisfy it.⁵ If it is stronger in the less sophisticated levels of society, as Pulgram's article suggests, then the social conditions in the closing period of the empire might have favoured its emergence. It is by no means certain that analytic expression shows "a tendency to be repetitive, redundant, lengthy" (Pulgram, 41), but it seems Pulgram is correct in saying that it aims at greater explicitness.

If we now turn to cantare habeo, we see that it also contains a finite verb in the present tense as auxiliary, and since in the Ant forms just discussed the auxiliary always represents the primary time element, we might suppose that there is a Pres element expressed in cantare habeo. It is hard to imagine that the presence of a present tense verb in the construction would not cause speakers to feel there was a present element in the meaning. This compound formation enabled Latin, as we have seen, to adopt a "future-in-the-past," or Past Post, form, simply by putting the auxiliary in a past tense. Now since cantare habebam was Past Post, it follows that cantare habeo also indicates the category Post, since the construction is the same in both cases, one being merely an extension of the other. The inevitable conclusion is that cantare habeo is Pres Post rather than Fut, the infinitive acting as a future participle. This is not a completely new category to Latin, for we have seen that posteriority was conveyed in oratio obliqua in Classical Latin by means of a future infinitive; also, spoken Latin frequently used the periphrasis cantaturus sum, consisting of the traditional future participle and the present tense of the verb 'to be.'

The emergence of Post tenses is most convincingly accounted for by the need for tenses expressing secondary time distinctions brought about by the fall of the accusative and infinitive construction used for oratio obliqua (see the explanation suggested by Bassols, above). When the main verb of the sentence reporting speech indirectly was Pres, a Fut form would suffice for the verb in the subordinate clause, but when

the main verb was Past, a Past Post tense was needed; if, as Bassols says was the case, a Fut tense had to be used here also, the language would be unable to make the important distinction between 'he said he would come' and 'he said he will come.' Other possible causes might be mentioned, though more tentatively (particularly to account for the extension of the construction in main clauses). In the structuralist tradition we could suggest a desire to balance the system by introducing Post forms to complement the existing Ant ones. Less abstractly, we might consider a stylistic preference in popular speech to view past and future events as relative to the Pres point (the great extension in use of the perfect tense at the expense of the past historic in early Modern French might be seen in this light).

The remarkable formal parallelism of the new Pres Ant and Pres Post tenses, both consisting of habeo and a non-finite part of the verb, perhaps offers some support for the idea of balancing the tense system. It certainly suggests the possibility of both tenses being the result of a single development, or of analogical action by one on the other. Both tenses apparently arose fairly close together in time, and the main difference is that one replaced an existing form while the other filled a partial gap. But with a desire to have both Ant and Post categories expressed, preferably by analytic forms reflecting the meaning clearly, analogy or a tendency to regularity caused analytic forms with habere to be introduced for both categories. The result was that in both tenses, the primary time element was expressed by the same form,

habere. In the Past versions of both formations, the hesitation between habebam and habui was resolved in favour of the former (though this is hardly surprising; since the primary time element represents a state, the imperfect would be expected to be the most likely form).

We are not suggesting that the various factors mentioned (a desire for Past forms, a tendency to analysis, and a preference for regular representation of the primary time concept) caused the language to create habere periphrases out of nothing. We have said that factors favouring change are likely to operate, if at all, in a way indicated by circumstances and the existing resources of the language. The habere compounds were already at hand with meanings not very far removed from the temporal ones they eventually acquired. The above factors, and the formal parallelism of the two constructions might then influence their use, so that they would develop semantically in the necessary direction. A glance at other analytic mutations in Latin shows that use is always made of existing resources; the cases of the noun were largely abandoned in favour of a great extension in use of the prepositions, which were already in use (and had been since time immemorial; se Palmer 1954, 282).

The old future form seems to have been discarded mainly for formal reasons, and contemporary developments ensured that there was a form at hand, cantare habeo, which could readily take its place. There were of course other candidates, volo cantare and debeo cantare, and the above discussion suggests one reason why habeo might be preferred in most of

Romania.⁶ Also, the adoption of habeo did not mean a loss elsewhere; the original sense of the periphrasis continued to be conveyed, in France with a preposition, j'ai à chanter, and in Spain by the use of tengo que with the infinitive.

The fact that cantare habeo came to be used to the exclusion of cantabo does not necessarily mean that it came to represent the same semantic category as the latter, namely Fut. The language could simply cease to use this category (as Vossler suggests; see above), referring to future events as Pres Post instead. It must not be forgotten, of course, that for a long time the two tenses did co-exist, and that the old future tense of esse survived until quite late. We can reasonably suppose that the new compound might become Fut (though not necessarily exclusively) when it re-synthesised, but the composite nature of the construction continued to be felt in Spanish until a very late date, as we shall see presently.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SYNTHESISATION OF THE ANALYTICAL FUTURE

The formal symmetry we have seen created between the Vulgar Latin Ant and Post tenses was, in fact, disrupted by divergent developments on the part of the two constructions. The compound perfect, with the word-order auxiliary + past participle, underwent the normal phonological developments of Hispano-Romance to give the modern perfect tense, which is constructed in exactly the same way: habeo cantatum gives the modern he cantado. The Post periphrasis, however, evolved quite differently, and in Modern Spanish the tense hardly betrays its origin. The analytical construction, with the word order infinitive + auxiliary, has re-synthesised, cantare habeo giving cantaré. This latter form is as synthetic as Classical Latin cantabo, particularly since in some forms the ending is no longer formally identical with the corresponding form of the independent verb haber; the stem of habere is preserved in the second person plural present and in all the imperfect forms of the independent verb, but is lost throughout the paradigm of the future and conditional tenses (habéis, -éis; había, -ía, etc.). Moreover, in a number of verbs, the infinitive is no longer evident in the future forms (vendré from venire habeo, the modern infinitive being venir).

To trace this divergent development of the Post construction, we must consider its three principal features: the

agglutination of habeo to the infinitive, the distinct development of habeo as a desinence as opposed to habeo as an independent verb, and the divergence of the "auxiliate" from the infinitive.

The synthesis of the compound into a single word, the reflex of the original habeo constituting a desinence attached to a stem constituted by the infinitive, is made possible by the auxiliary's being placed after the infinitive, and by the loss of the final /e/ of the infinitive; /h/ was lost in all positions in spoken Latin, so the auxiliary began with a vowel sound, and the loss of the final /e/ of the infinitive made it easy for the two elements of the periphrasis to merge into one word; Schane (1972, 209) suggests a universal preference for an open syllable structure, and the merger of elements would restore this structure after loss of the final /e/ had made the last syllable of /kantar/ a closed one. The elision of this final /e/ is not part of a general phonological development, but is specific to this context, and no certain explanation of it can be given. It might be accounted for by supposing that the periphrasis constituted a unit of stress, the principal intensity being on the auxiliary: */kantàre áweo/; the three syllables preceding the main stress might then be reduced to two, the elimination of the final vowel eliminating also the hiatus between /e/ and /a/.⁷ Menéndez Pidal (1968, 83) says that cases of hiatus were sometimes eliminated in Hispano-Romance by the loss of one of the vowels, and gives an example of /e/ being lost before /a/: ostrea > ostra 'oyster.' Vulgar Latin lost word-internal pretonic

vowels following /r/ as a regular development: verecundia > vergundia > vergüenza 'shame' (Menéndez Pidal, 73), and the loss of the final /e/ of the infinitive before the stressed vowel of habeo could well be a special case of this.

The matter of the word-order is not the major point of difference between the two Vulgar Latin periphrases that it may seem to be. For a long time the word-order was free, and examples of the auxiliary preceding the infinitive occur in the 12th-century Poema de mio Cid: El campeador a los que han lidiar tan bien los castigó 'The campeador also exhorted those who were going to fight' (Elcock, 106), though the reverse order predominated. It is possible that the growing preference for the order cantare habeo and the eventual exclusion of the alternative order are due precisely to the fact that the order infinitive + auxiliary came to permit the closer phonetic association of the two elements through the elision of the final /e/ of the infinitive; */kantaraweo/ (as, it may be said for the moment, the form may have been) might appeal for stylistic reasons unknown to us, though /aweo kantare/ and /kantare aweo/ would still exist beside it. Another possible reason is a wish to differentiate the Pres Post analytic form from habeo cantare used in its original sense of 'I have to sing,' before this differentiation was made more clearly by the introduction of a preposition between habeo and the infinitive in the latter usage.

The chronology of the appearance of the agglutinated form is investigated by Valesio (1968, 279-301), who believes it belongs to what he calls Late Common Romance, "the latest

period of common existence" of the speech of the different areas of Romania (287).⁸ He examines the daras of Fredegar's Chronicle, generally believed to be the first attestation of the synthetic future, and also analyses the word adarrabo, found in the same text, concluding that it is a complex morphological hybrid also exemplifying the synthesis of the Pres Post compound. Fredegar's Chronicle belongs to 7th-century France, and daras and adarrabo could therefore be taken to exemplify a development that either took place in one Romance language and spread to the others, or that took place in each language individually. The best support for a Common Romance (Vulgar Latin) origin for the synthesis would be the discovery of more attestations in Late Latin texts of different areas and periods; such attestations would be particularly valuable if they belonged to a much earlier period, when Valesio sees Romania as being a much more unified linguistic area. Valesio believes such an attestation may exist in the form faciam 'I will do,' used in some manuscripts of the Vulgate as a variant of a particular occurrence of feram 'I will bear.' He sees this as suggesting that a group of Latin speakers took feram to be, not the Classical Latin future of fero 'I bear,' but a synthetic form of the Vulgar "future" of facio 'I do;' they then "corrected" this form, replacing it by the Classical Latin future of facio, namely faciam. The case Valesio presents is plausible, though by no means conclusive, of course. He makes the assumption, in support of his view, that analytic forms in Late Latin texts, semantically equivalent to Classical Latin future forms, indicate the

deeply-entrenched existence in the spoken language of the new synthetic form; writers, aware of the etymology of the new forms, used analytic forms as a compromise between forms in use and the conservative pressure of the classical tradition (125-127, 299-300). Even a periphrasis such as comedere debetis 'you will eat' implies the use of corresponding synthetic forms, in this case */komederetis/; the fact that the auxiliary is debere rather than habere is irrelevant. If, says Valesio, this assumption is accepted, then the presence of analytic forms in Late Latin texts indirectly confirms the "Common Romance" origin of the synthetic forms. However, he gives no reason why the assumption should be accepted, and it must be regarded as totally unjustified; it is perfectly possible that the occurrence of an analytic form in writing reflects the use of that analytic form in speech.

The synthetic forms are present in the earliest documents written in the Spanish vernacular. The 10th-century Glosas Emilianenses show such forms as jras 'you will go,' faras 'you will do,' tornaras 'you will turn.' But the synthetic form was clearly not the only one, and the same text shows infinitive and auxiliary separated by a pronoun: lebartamos (lebar te amos) 'we will raise you' (Bassols 306-307). Throughout the Old Spanish period, and into the Modern age, the infinitive and the auxiliary could be separate, and could occur in either order. When the auxiliary followed, a pronoun (subject or object) could be inserted between it and the infinitive until as late as the 17th century: venir vos edes 'you will come,' dar le has 'you will give to him,' traer nos lo ha 'he will

bring it to us' (Menéndez Pidal, 324).

The phonological evolution of the forms of the verb habere is not directly pertinent to the present study, and is treated thoroughly, though less than clearly in parts, by Valesio (129-152). His examination leads him to propose that in "Late Common Romance," immediately preceding the division of Romania, the early /(h)abeo/ had given */áwjo/, represented phonetically by *[áβjo], and more commonly *[ájo] with the reduction of the segment preceding /j/; for the other persons of the present tense Valesio gives */awes/, */awet/, */awemus/, */awetis/, */awent/. This can largely be accepted, though there is reason to question his assumption of the phoneme /w/; since his article must be discussed further, the forms he gives will be adopted here for convenience, but with the understanding that */abjo/, */abes/, and so on, might be a more accurate representation of the situation at the close of the empire.⁹

These forms represent habere in its function as an autonomous verb, but as the desinence of the synthetic future it developed quite differently, and to see why this should be so it will be necessary to follow Valesio's account in some detail (152-160).

Since he believes that the synthetic future pattern belongs to Late Common Romance, Valesio takes it to be contemporaneous with the paradigm (given above) of habeo as an independent verb. But all the Late Latin attestations of the synthetic future show reduced forms of the descendants of the -habere paradigm, with no trace of the /w/ phoneme. It seems, then, that at this period the forms in the future paradigm

are, from the point of view of phonological development, one step ahead. Two questions must now be asked: first, what is the cause of the different treatment of the compound paradigm? And, second, what are the structures of the basic allomorphs of this paradigm?

Treating the first question, he says that analogy from the first person form */ájo/ is not sufficient cause, since the analogical influence of this reduced form was not strong enough to modify the independent paradigm; it must, however, be taken into account as one of the factors in the reduction of the paradigm.

He believes the decisive factor was the morphological position of the -habeo forms. The fact that they were attached to various stems of different origins caused them to reduce phonemically, thus coming into line with all the other verbal desinences. In Early Common Romance and Classical Latin the longest verbal desinences had four phonemes (-mini, -ntur), and Valesio states that this fact must have been directly connected with the reduction of the -habeo paradigm (in which the first and second persons plural had six phonemes and the third plural five). Valesio's claim could be more cautious; but he is clearly right in saying that the position of -habeo as a desinence is significant, and the unusual length of this ending may well have influenced its reduction.

Valesio goes on to claim that the morphological fusion led to a development at the prosodic level. He believes that a succession in the periphrasis of two stresses, primary and secondary (*/kantáre hâbeo/), underwent merger into a single

primary stress (**/kantarájo/*). His statement of the original prosodic position is based on his view that in phrases of the cantare habeo type, the stress is weaker than, and subordinate to, the preceding infinitive; the weakening is the usual change when a verb which can function independently (as in */hábeo dómum/* 'I have a house') is used as an auxiliary. The transformation of the stress of -habeo from secondary to primary with the morphological merger is, Valesio says, shown by all the derived Romance paradigms. He sets up the following series to show the association of prosodic with morphological structures:

**/hábeo #/ */hàbeo +/ */-ájo/*

It appears from this that the form has primary stress in the situations of maximal and minimal independence, while in the situation of relative independence it has secondary stress. It is not easy, Valesio says, to explain why in the synthetic future the two stresses merge in the position of secondary stress, but he notes that the future and conditional paradigms are the only ones in which desinential stress can be traced back to the original common period (the desinential stress of the Spanish preterite cantó goes back to a stem stress: **/kantáwt/*); he therefore sees as plausible the hypothesis that stress was adopted as an explicit marker of the peculiar morphological genesis of the synthetic form, at a time when this genesis was still felt.

But, at a time when speakers were allowing the system of verbal desinences to affect the length of the new future ending it is not clear why they would introduce a prosodic

distinction that was not there before between the new ending and the traditional desinences. In view of the fact that the modern forms show the primary stress on the ending, it would be simpler to assume that this has been the case all along. Valesio's reason for believing that habeo bore secondary stress in the periphrasis cantare habeo is not supported; he believes that it is usual for a verb in the situation of relative independence to have secondary stress, but other examples of this, such as /hàbeo kantátum/, /è kantádo/, differ in having the auxiliary verb preceding rather than following the "auxiliate." A reasonable deduction is that the second constituent bears the primary stress, and indeed, /kàntare hábeo/ seems intuitively more likely than /kantáre hàbeo/.

Valesio then reconstructs the reduced forms; he believes this is best done by supposing the analogical diffusion of the diphthong */aj/ of the first person singular */ajo/. The last five forms are, as already said, subjected to a pressure towards reduction, and are confronted with the very close model of */ajo/, where the /w/ has already dropped; so */awe/ reduces to */aj/ in all forms. The principal forms are as follows, in comparison with the paradigm of the independent verb:

independent	desinence
*/ájjo/	*/-ájjo/
*/áwes/	*/-ájs/
*/áwet/	*/-ájt/
*/awémus/	*/-ájmus/
*/awétis/	*/-ájtis/
*/áwent/	*/-ájnt/

Valesio claims that this set of forms encloses, poten-

tially, all the developments of the Romance languages, but this is hardly acceptable. The modern forms of the first person singular and first and second persons plural, -é, -émos, -éis, could derive from the above, but in no modern Romance language does any trace of the /j/ appear in the three remaining forms; it does not even appear in the earliest attestation daras. Valesio says that different developments can co-exist in the same paradigm, but he is here merely interpreting the fact that the modern paradigms do not show the unity presented in his reconstruction. He enumerates what changes might have occurred, but some of these are simply unlikely developments, necessary if the above starting point is taken; he says, for example, that the diphthong could be reduced by the disappearance of the semivowel /j/, but does not say why this might happen; it is certainly not a normal development.

Butler, in a discussion of Valesio's article (1969, 174-175), proposes that reduction took place in all occurrences of habere, whether independent or synthesised, as a result of its common occurrence as an auxiliary, initial in a stress group. He believes Latin tended to alternate strongly- and weakly-stressed syllables, so */àweo kantátum, àweo kantáre/ would become */aj kantátum, aj kantáre/, the auxiliary reducing because the initial syllable of /kantare, kantatum/ was protected (174); */àwes, àwet, àwent/ would similarly become */as, at, an/. From these forms would descend the reflexes of habere in any environment. Referring presumably to forms like aves, ave, he says Old Spanish is exceptional in salvaging

remnants of the old periphrastic system. He believes all other developments belong to each language at a later period, the post-positioning of habere as a desinence being late and a result of analogy from "other simple tenses."

This analogical origin of the synthetic structure is not convincing, since it did not happen to the other compound, habeo cantatum, and since the synthesis does occur quite early, in daras. Butler's hypothesis does yield the correct modern forms of the second and third persons singular and the third person plural, but his dismissal of Old Spanish as exceptional in having aves, ave, aven, is not satisfying. Moreover, he does not account for the preservation of the final syllable of -emos and Old Spanish -edes, though an analogical pressure towards preservation of person markers might be adduced. His reconstruction for the first person singular, */aj/, is contradicted by Old Spanish heo, a rare form referred to by Menéndez Pidal (303), and by the Mozarabic future forms in -ayu, -ayo, such as vivireyu, farayo (Elcock, 404). Menéndez Pidal (303), like Butler, speaks of a contraction in Vulgar Latin due to the frequent use of habere as an auxiliary, giving it an atonic character; but he says this contraction left intact the stressed syllable and the desinence (this would account for heo, -emos and -edes), and he does not claim that this reduced form completely supplanted the fuller form.

A new hypothesis to account for the reduced synthetic forms can be offered, taking as a starting point the morphological position of -habeo, which might bring it under the analogical influence of the Latin verbal desinences. It is to

be noted that all cases of intervocalic /b/ and /w/ in Hispano-Romance verbal desinences were lost, except in the environment /a__a/; veniebam and cantavi thus gave respectively veníá and canté, from earlier /kantai/, while cantabam gave cantaba. It is possible that this development was a factor in the loss of the consonant between /a/ and /e/ in the agglutinated endings of the Pres Post tense. The development is interesting in that it seems to have been morphologically conditioned, occurring almost exclusively in verb endings. The sole exception to this tendency is ibam, the imperfect of ire 'to go,' which gives Spanish iba, and this case is easily accounted for; this verb is unique in having inflected forms in which no stem is readily distinguishable, and the need to retain phonetic substance might cause it to keep the intervocalic /b/, or the development might be thought of as occurring after morpheme boundaries, in which case this verb would evade it.

The result in Old Spanish of these developments was the existence of two sets of forms descended from habere. The unreduced forms (which did not include one for the first person singular) were aves, ave, avemos, avedes, aven, and the reduced forms were he (with variants heo, hey), has, ha, hemos, hedes (later heis), han. The second set of forms, though apparently originating as desinences, expanded in use, and completely displaced the unreduced forms in all uses, except in the second person plural; there the reduced form was reserved for the desinence (cantaréis), while the independent and auxiliary verb has habéis. As late as the Golden Age of Spanish

literature (roughly the second half of the 16th and first half of the 17th century), the first person plural also used the unreduced form habemos for the non-desinential function, and the reduced form of the second person plural appeared as auxiliary in the construction heis de estar 'you have to be,' eis estado 'you have been' (Menéndez Pidal, 302-303). The conditional tense, formed with the imperfect of habere, also shows reduced forms (-ía, -ías, etc.) as opposed to the imperfect of the independent verb (había, habías, etc.); this reduction is exactly the same as that of the first and second persons plural present tense of habere. There is an additional point of interest here, however, for if the hypothesis for the reduction of habere by analogy with the loss of intervocalic /b/ in verbal endings is correct, then the conditional desinences have undergone this development doubly; Latin habebam first reduced to habeam (which gives había), and then the further reduction to *eam due to the position of the whole verb as a desinence took place, yielding -ía (Elcock, 107).

Where the infinitive and auxiliary were agglutinated together in Old Spanish, the pretonic vowel of the infinitive endings -er and -ir was liable to be lost by a regular development (for the following see Menéndez Pidal, 323-324). These vowels fell in the language of the 12th to 14th centuries when the final consonant of the verb stem could combine with the -r of the infinitive; examples are: b-r, v-r, vivrán; r-r, conquerrá; d-r, comidrán; rd-r, perdrás; rt-r, partriemos; nd-r, entendremos; nt-r, consintrá. In other cases an epenthetic consonant was inserted, or metathesis occurred, to

facilitate the loss of the vowel without the phonotactics of the language being violated; this occurred with the following pairs of consonants: m-r, combré; n-r, pondrá and porná (also porrá and simply ponrá); l-r, saldré (and simply salré); z-r, bendizdré and, more commonly, without epenthesis, dizré; also, with the suppression of the z, dire; ç-r, simply creçrá, and conoztria (ç becoming voiced z syllable-finally).

These phonological developments evidently did not destroy the feeling of the presence of an infinitive in the construction (this feeling would be kept alive by the existence of the non-agglutinated alternative), and a tendency to keep the infinitive form intact caused nearly all these contractions to be abandoned from the 14th century. This tendency existed in the 13th century, along with the tendency to reduce the infinitive, so that such forms as saberás, podería, which have not survived, occurred, as well as the Modern forms mori-rá, temerás. The following verbs are the only ones maintaining the contraction today: habré 'I shall have,' cabrá 'it will fit,' sabré 'I shall know,' querré 'I shall want,' podré 'I shall be able,' vendré 'I shall come,' pondré 'I shall put,' tendré 'I shall have,' valdré 'I shall be worth,' saldré 'I shall go out,' diré 'I shall say,' haré 'I shall do' is a different case diachronically, since it is formed, not from the infinitive hacer but from the early contraction far.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN MODERN SPANISH

After having traced the evolution of the two habere periphrases through spoken Latin and into the modern language of Spain, it is worthwhile to give a brief description of the results of this evolution in Modern Spanish. The perfect and future tenses, he cantado and cantaré, are the formal end-products of the developments investigated, and the Latin perfect form, cantavi, survives formally in the Spanish preterite, canté. There is good reason to believe that important changes in the correlation of forms with semantic categories have occurred in the period of the modern language, and an analysis will now be proposed of the semantic value of the relevant tense-forms of Modern Spanish.

It has been seen that the Latin Fut form, cantabo, was replaced by the compound cantare habeo whose form suggests it was an analytic Pres Post. Now that this tense has become synthetic it is probable, as hinted at earlier, that it no longer represents Pres Post, but rather Fut, just as the original synthetic Latin form did. The composite nature of the form continued to be evident, as has been shown, until the 17th century, and it can be assumed that while this lasted the composite semantic value Pres Post also persisted; the presence of a Pres auxiliary, he, in the form would probably ensure that speakers understood there to be a Pres element in the meaning. But when the synthesis became total, that is, when the compound

alternative was ousted, it is likely that a semantic shift accompanied the formal development. Speakers could no longer associate cantaré with an alternative form in which a separate Pres element occurred, and there was no morpheme in the synthetic form which should obviously be taken to indicate Pres (since in some forms the desinences differed from the corresponding forms of the verb haber); it can be expected, therefore, that speakers would come to understand the form as expressing the category Fut.

It was shown in the last chapter that the stem of the synthetic form came to be differentiated through phonological development from the infinitive, before the loss of the alternative compound form. As long as the synthetic form could be associated with this compound form the stem would probably be felt to be a contextually-conditioned variant of the infinitive; in other words, while venir he and vendré existed side by side as equivalents, /bendr/ would be regarded as the allomorph of /benir/ occurring before agglutinated /e/. But when the compound forms fell into disuse this would cease to be the case. It was seen that while this association with the unbound infinitive persisted, many of the reduced bound infinitives were remodelled on the corresponding unbound forms; this can be seen as a regularisation, an elimination of allomorphic variation, after the bound forms had ceased to be phonologically-conditioned variants. The contraction is maintained today in only twelve verbs (hacer must be included in a synchronic statement), but a glance at these verbs shows that they are among the most frequently occurring; one can

therefore be certain that the infinitive is no longer felt to be present in the future tense form.

This classification of the Modern Spanish cantaré as Fut does not agree with the analysis made by Bull; he classifies it as PP+V, equivalent to Pres Post (1963, 72). Bull justifies his classification of tense forms according to his hypothetical tense system on the basis of morphemes evident in the forms, and he sees the future as still consisting of an infinitive and the present tense of haber. He regards the final -r of the infinitive as the sign of the plus vector, and haber as an "axis-fixing auxiliary" (36, 90), the present tense of haber indicating the axis PP (and the past tense indicating RP of course, as in the conditional, cantaría, which is RP+V). Seeing haber as an axis marker gives the Spanish system a certain symmetry, since it marks the axis in the perfect tense also; this is the same symmetry that we saw as being established in spoken Latin by the introduction of the two analytic tenses, and Bull's classification has probably been influenced by this attractive parallelism. His analysis must be rejected, however; the classification of -r as the mark of the plus vector is quite arbitrary (it could be seen as the mark of "anticipation," making cantaré APØV and cantaría RAPØV), and, as has been shown, the future tense no longer contains the auxiliary haber. The future perfect tense, habré cantado, shows a weakness in Bull's classification; according to his classification of the future tense form, the auxiliary habré should be PP+V, and the past participle cantado, of course, indicates minus vector, so the total should be a complex

PP+V-V, but he classifies this tense as AP-V (72). This is the obvious classification to make in Bull's terms, and one would expect it to lead Bull to class the future tense as APØV (which, with reservations, can be said to correspond to our Fut) rather than PP+V. But he appears to assign habré cantado to the category AP-V with some reluctance, since he prefers to analyse it consistently with his analysis of the future tense, although the result fits badly into his hypothetical scheme; he describes the future perfect as "the most complex of the prime tense forms," and goes on: "The combination of a plus and minus vector is, of course, systematically incompatible at a single axis, and it is therefore necessary to assume that the plus vector is oriented to PP and the minus vector to AP" (93).

Bull says that Spanish does not have a form for APØV, and must use the future form non-systemically for this function. He uses the parallel of the tenses of recollection to show that the future is employed with the function APØV as well as PP+V; Ya morirá 'he's going to die now,' PP+V, and Morirá a la una mañana 'he will die at one tomorrow,' APØV, correspond respectively, as expressing anticipation, to Ya ha muerto 'he's died now,' PP-V, and Murió a la una ayer 'he died at one yesterday,' RPØV, expressing recollection (90). Because of the morpheme derived from habere Bull regards the PP+V function as systemic, and, as for the lack of a distinct form for APØV, he attributes to a weakness in the Spanish system what is really a weakness in his classification. But he brings out the important point that cantaré is used with

the value Pres Post as well as Fut. It was suggested above that a semantic shift from Pres Post to Fut occurred at the time when formal synthesis became complete, but clearly the Pres Post sense was not entirely lost. This is not a weakness in our classification, but is perhaps an indication of an important and more general characteristic of semantic change, for it will be seen below that this is not the only tense to preserve traces of former usage.

It is not satisfactory to dismiss these uses as vestiges fossilised in certain set expressions; rather, it seems that though speakers might come to think of the form as being primarily Fut, it would continue to be used in contexts where the tense is clearly Pres Post, contexts in which the use of the form was familiar; the restriction in use of the form to the category Fut would therefore be gradual as would be the introduction of a new form for the Pres Post function. A reason for the continued use of cantaré for Pres Post could be the existence of a formally similar tense cantaría, with the function Past Post. The formal similarity lies in the stem cantar- and there is no formal reflection of the Pres Past correspondence, so the parallelism is not systematic; both forms have lost ground in their Post functions to appropriate forms of the periphrasis ir a cantar 'to be going to sing.' The complex history of the conditional, with its modal as well as temporal functions, lies outside the scope of this study, and one should refer for its development in conditional sentences to the paper by Harris (1971).

The perfect tense, once again, requires little comment;

it is Pres Ant, though occasionally found with the function Past in Modern Spanish, one of Bull's "nonsystemic functions" (88-89). The preterite, normally Past, has preserved to some extent, throughout the history of Spanish, the Pres Ant sense it had in Latin. Grandgent (1962, 55) remarks that the old perfect meaning was not entirely lost, and Lapesa (1959, 153) says that in Old Spanish both the perfect and preterite tenses were used for the Ant function. Bull comments that the preterite is a "potential free variant" of the perfect; two of his examples illustrate the point: Luego hablaron los carceleros 'then the jailers spoke;' Como ya se observó, se le considera como independiente 'as has already been observed, he is considered independent' (95,97).¹⁰ The cases of the preterite and the compound future both suggest that when a tense form undergoes a change or restriction in meaning, it by no means necessarily ceases completely to be used in its former sense, but may continue to do so for centuries. Even today, there is no reason to believe that the use of the preterite for Pres Ant is "marginal" or disappearing, for it is quite normal in expressions such as: ¿Y Juan? - Se marchó 'Where's John? - He's gone.' The lesson is that to attempt to distinguish and compartmentalise forms rigidly according to functions is to over-simplify and distort the facts. Though a language might introduce a closer correspondence between a given semantic category and the form, the innovation will be reflected in usage by a tendency rather than an absolute change, and there will continue to be considerable tolerance of the original expression, particularly

in contexts where there is no possibility of ambiguity.

Modern Spanish makes very common use of the two periphrases acabo de cantar 'I have just sung' and voy a cantar 'I am going to sing.' The former does not replace any other tense-form; it is, like he cantado, Pres Ant, but signifies nearness in time of the action to the Pres point. Voy a cantar, on the other hand, is the normal expression for Pres Post, and in this function takes over from the compound future. It is not a recent formation, but goes back to an early Latin construction ire 'to go' with the infinitive. In the Latin construction the verb ire still had the sense of movement, and the infinitive indicated purpose: senex in Ephesum ... ibit aurum arcessere 'the old man was going to Ephesus to fetch gold' (Plautus), voltisne eamus visere? 'do you want us to go and look?' (Terence). It was not favoured in classical prose, other purpose constructions being preferred (Bassols 1948, 316). Ire + infinitive was inherited by the Romance languages (though the forms of ire were largely replaced by forms of other verbs, Spanish using forms of vadere), and the sense of movement and purpose was lost; the Post sense is found in Late Latin writings, as in the Lombard Laws: Ecce vides, quia necessitate compulsus res istas vado dare 'Behold, you see that I am going to give these things forced by necessity' (Thielmann 1885, 170). Reid (1955, 37) says that until recently the French equivalent of voy a cantar, je vais chanter, was used to refer to events close in time to the Pres point, and Bassols (316) indicates that in the Romance languages the descendants of ire cantare were used in an

inchoative sense after losing the idea of motion. So it may be that in Spanish voy a cantar complemented acabo de cantar in indicating closeness to the present, until it came to take the place of the synthesised analytic Pres Post.

This analysis has shown that one cannot establish a neat one-to-one correspondence between forms and semantic categories for Modern Spanish, since considerable overlapping occurs as a result of ancient changes not yet being complete. It can be expected that this represents the situation at any other period; the language is constantly and gradually evolving, and this evolution cannot be accurately described in terms of tidy diachronic stages.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is now possible to draw together the various strands of this investigation, and to see if any conclusions can be reached regarding the typological changes considered.

The first major development looked at was the change from a synthetic to an analytic type of expression whereby the Latin perfect tense cantavi (in its Pres Ant function) and future tense cantabo were replaced by the compounds habeo cantatum and cantare habeo. It was suggested that these developments could be partly accounted for by examination of the system of semantic categories underlying the tense forms; the formal substitution constitutes the satisfying of a preference for direct correspondence between meaning and form, each element of the semantic category being represented consistently by a distinct formal element. The gratification of this preference would be facilitated by formal weaknesses in the existing synthetic form, and perhaps by a general tendency to analysis which may have taken hold on the language at the time in question.

The second development, a return to synthetic expression, affected only the Pres Post periphrasis, cantare habeo. A number of reasons, all of a phonological character, have been suggested for the changes resulting in Modern Spanish cantaré: the fact that the auxiliary (usually thought of as being the subordinate element) bore the main stress led to a closer

integration of the compound, so that it came to be subject to phonotactic generalities and regular sound changes (one of which, the loss of intervocalic /b/, may have been morphologically conditioned). It was also suggested that this synthesisation ultimately led to a return to the sense of cantabo, Fut rather than Pres Post.

Pulgram (1963) considers the possibility of a universal cycle, analytic forms repeatedly becoming synthetic and then being replaced by new analytic forms, and this study might be concluded by an evaluation of this suggestion. In reference to the Romance future, Pulgram starts with a pre-historic *ama bho, unattested but well-supported (see note 4), which synthesised to amabo, this then being replaced by amare habeo; this compound formation gave French j'aimerai, and now je vais aimer is encroaching on the domain of j'aimerai. Pulgram thinks it likely that je vais aimer will oust j'aimerai,¹¹ and then become synthetic in accordance with the previous trend, as je *vaisaimer. Vossler (1954, 118) also entertains the idea that aller + infinitive will one day lead to such forms as *vechanter, *alongchanter, *vonchanter.

Pulgram gives detailed consideration to the causes of replacement of synthetic forms by analytic ones (his hypothesis has already been discussed in an earlier chapter), but he does not say why analytic forms should synthesise, beyond noting that it has happened before. He does, however, make an important distinction between the two types of mutation (37); the replacement of a synthetic by an analytic formation represents an act of choice (a choice which may be rather

restricted by what is available and by what else is happening in the language), while synthesisation of an analytic formation represents a change "which for the most part escapes the control and attention of the speaker, indeed frequently occurs in spite of him." This same point emerges from Valesio's study (1968, 123), when the developments leading to Spanish cantaré are seen as a synthetic, not an analytic, transformation because cantaré cannot be related back to cantabo, but only to cantare habeo; Valesio, of course, is thinking only in formal terms, but the point is clear that a synthetic transformation maintains the original morphemes, while an analytic transformation involves the introduction of new ones from some other part of the language's store. The two types of transformation involve very different processes, and probably cannot be considered as results of a single, cyclic tendency.

The present study does not support the idea of a constant chain or cycle. Analytic transformations indeed arise frequently to replace synthetic forms expressing compound notions, and the view has been offered in an earlier chapter that they do spring from a universal and constant tendency associated with the level of meaning. Synthetic evolution, however, did not take place at all in the case of the analytic perfect, which remains analytic today, and in the case of the analytic future the synthesisation seems to have been entirely due to phonological developments (syntactic awareness tending to prevent reduction of the infinitive in Old Spanish). This investigation therefore points to the conclusion that there is a constant psychological pressure favouring analytic

expression, which is therefore likely to recur frequently in the course of history, but that synthesis of analytic formations will only occur when the language undergoes specific sound changes, or has specific phonotactic preferences, which lead directly to this. Moreover, the evidence does not suggest that an auxiliary can always be expected to become a synthetic morpheme; Fulgram sees the synthesis of je vais aimer as conceivable, but, in considering whether it might not already be, he says that a native speaker would always say it was three words (36, footnote 5); yet since, as Fulgram says, syllabic and morphemic boundaries do not coincide in the breath group (within which word boundaries are obliterated), it is hard to foresee the elements of je vais aimer becoming any more closely bound phonologically than they are now.

Looking beyond the area of the Romance perfect and future periphrases, it appears that whether or not the auxiliary of an analytic formation becomes agglutinated to the lexical element depends on its position in the compound; almost all cases of synthesis seem to occur where the auxiliary element follows the "auxiliate." Examples are Latin *ama + bho, Romance cantare + habeo, English do + not, will + not (giving don't, won't).¹² The English examples suggest that perhaps the second element does not have to be stressed, but that an unstressed auxiliary may be absorbed by a preceding "auxiliate." Elcock hints at the importance of word order when he says that this seems to have precluded any possibility of the fusion of the two elements of the compound past tenses in Romance (109).

The notion of a cycle demands that one consider the possibility of all known synthetic systems going back to analytic ones, but synthesis of analytic formations alone could not account for some of the synthetic systems in evidence. The formation of the Hispano-Romance future showed considerable uniformity, even after the contractions of Old Spanish, and synthetic complexity, as in English won't, shan't (from will + not, shall + not), seems to be restricted to isolated cases involving very commonly used words. The great lack of formal unity in the Classical Latin future tense is the result of its having two distinct origins; cantabo comes from *canta bho, and dicam comes from a present subjunctive form. But the Latin case system can hardly be conceived of as originating from analytic morphemes (unless, rather like the future tense, it stems from a number of analytic alternatives); the ablative case, for example, is expressed by various morphemes, depending on number and inflectional class.

Cases of synthesis of analytic forms are too isolated, then, and synthetic systems too complex, for the notion of a general cycle to be accepted; the synthesisation of the Romance Pres Post periphrasis is almost unique in Romance. Analytic mutations, on the other hand, are so frequent, and not only in Romance, that there is good reason to see them as representing a universal trend concerned with the links between meaning and expression. It is possible that this trend is not one specifically favouring analytic expression, but is rather what Anttila speaks of as the "general iconic tendency" of language (1972, 89), a preference for a clear, one-to-one

relation between form and meaning. This tendency, then, would be the same as that leading to morphological regularity in, for example, the analogical use of oxes for oxen. If this is the case, then whether or not the result in a particular case is an analytic formation would depend on the situation and on the resources the language has at hand; if the change involves the introduction of a completely new construction rather than the extension of an existing pattern, then use will be made of suitable lexical items and the result will be an analytic construction.

To sum up, then, it seems likely that developments involving the replacement of synthetic forms by analytic constructions are due to a universal and constantly present tendency working from the level of meaning, while synthesisation of analytic constructions, which does frequently occur, is largely the result of phonological and syntactic factors, and cannot be attributed to a universal trend.

Clearly, none of the suggestions advanced in this study are in any way conclusive, and indeed, linguists are at this stage in no position to provide definitive answers to most problems. It is sufficient, however, if a number of interesting questions have emerged.

NOTES

- 1 In a provocative article Weinrich proposes (1970) that the function of tense in language is not to express differences of time, but to indicate the speech situation in which the speaker and listener find themselves. The two fundamental categories of speech situation are the "narrative," which is self-explanatory, and the "discursive," which includes all that is not narrated. A narrative is always remote from the speaker and listener, who are consequently relaxed, and relaxation characterises the speech situation of narration; a discursive situation, which is found, for instance, in commentary, discussion and summary, is of more direct concern to speaker and listener and is characterised by tension. Each of these types of speech situation is signalled by a tense group, the present indicating the tense, discursive situation and the past indicating the relaxed, narrative situation. To support this theory Weinrich refers to texts in which past events are reported in the present tense or events placed in the future (as in Orwell's novel 1984) are reported in the past tense. Within each of the two tense groups are various tenses, and a second dimension of the tense system expresses "retrospection" (indicated by the perfect in the discursive group, and the pluperfect in the narrative group) and "prospection" (indicated by the future in the discursive group and the conditional in the narrative group); in this sense, tense relates to time, but there is no indication of present time, the present and preterite tenses indicating rather absence of perspective.
Weinrich presents an interesting view, but it is hard to believe that the traditional close association of tense with time is merely a grammarians' invention. Weinrich's observations on speech situations can be readily accounted for without his theory; past time is naturally more remote than present time, and present events can be expected to be of more immediate and direct concern and to arouse more tension. Weinrich speaks of "tense metaphor" when tenses of one group are found as intruders in a sequence of tenses of the other group (39-40); this notion of metaphor could be adduced to account for the use of a particular tense group, throughout a text, to report events which might be expected to call for a different set of tenses (as in the novel referred to above).
- 2 Latin grammars traditionally distinguish "primary" and "historic" tenses, and the rule of the "sequence of tenses" demands that a primary indicative in the main clause is followed by a primary subjunctive in the subordinate clause and an historic indicative is followed by an historic subjunctive. The primary indicative tenses are the present, future and "perfect with 'have'" (Pres Ant), while the historic indicative tenses are the imperfect,

"perfect without 'have'" (Past Narr) and pluperfect; the only two subjunctive tenses in common use are the present, used in primary sequence, and the imperfect, used in historic sequence (Woodcock, 1959, 101-102; Robertson 1939, 34).

- 3 Cantare is a convenient verb to take, since its stem remains unchanged throughout its evolution to Modern Spanish, and its use is easy to envisage in any tense, whereas a verb such as amare 'to love' would rarely be formed in its Past Narr form because of the nature of the action it designates. The usual Latin verb for 'to sing' is canere, belonging to the third conjugation, and cantare is, in form, the corresponding frequentative; however, cantare is generally found with exactly the same sense as canere and is so used by Cicero and Vergil (Lewis and Short 1955).
- 4 Latin did not inherit a future tense from Indo-European, and so created one from subjunctive forms. In the third and fourth conjugations the present subjunctive derived from Indo-European was used, except in the first person singular; an alternative set of forms, peculiar to Italic, took over the present subjunctive function and also provided the first person singular of the future indicative. The future tense of the first and second conjugations was supplied by a periphrasis of which the second element was a subjunctive of the root bhu- of the verb 'to be'; the identity of the first element is debatable, and a present participle, an infinitive and a verbal noun have been suggested (Bassols, 279-281; Kent 1946, 102-103, 105, 120).
- 5 This hypothesis may be compared to Anttila's notion of "iconicity" (1972). An icon is a sign bearing a formal similarity to its referent (13), and Anttila believes that language has a "general iconic tendency, whereby semantic sameness is reflected also by formal sameness" (89). He gives an example from Old Spanish, where metathesis of /dl/ to /ld/ changed dadlos 'give them' to daldos; language's iconic preference for a one-to-one relationship between form and meaning asserted itself, and dadlos was restored (98).
- 6 As was seen earlier, volo cantare and debeo cantare formed the future tenses of Roumanian and Sardinian respectively, and it is not possible here to go into the question of why this should be so. It is not suggested that the Romance future had to be formed with habere; the factors which may have led to a preference for cantare habeo in most of Romania are not, of course, the only factors present. It is not possible, given a linguistic system belonging to a certain point in history, to predict with certainty the path of change; one can only offer possible

reasons for changes known to have occurred in particular places and at particular times.

- 7 Klausenburger (1970) speaks of late spoken Latin as a "nexus language," a nexus being a sequence behaving phonologically as a word (12-16); he says that the transformation from cantare habeo to French chanterai indicates that cantare habeo was an instance of nexus, having one stress and undergoing the changes of a single word (14). The loss of pretonic /e/ may, then, be a case of syncope, though perhaps a unique case in occurring between a consonant and the stressed vowel. Anderson investigates the environments in which Vulgar Latin syncope occurred (1965), and finds that it was more likely to occur in cases where the resultant cluster would conform to the existing phonotactic pattern; the elision of /e/ in the case in question does not, of course, lead to a consonant cluster, but results in the perfectly permissible sequence /ra/.
- 8 Valesio's use of the terms Early Common Romance and Late Common Romance, without any explanation, shows an oversimplified view of the linguistic evolution of Romania. Such terms may be justified as a convenience in the investigation of individual areas of grammar where the various geographic regions show considerable agreement, and indeed, large areas of Romania show much in common in the evolution of the synthetic future. For this reason, Valesio's use of these terms in this study is not the distortion of reality that it might be, but his apparent acceptance of the notion of discrete chronological stages in a Romania which remained linguistically one until the breakup of the empire, when it branched into various "proto-languages" (290), is clearly mistaken.
- 9 Valesio describes in detail the development of the Latin phonemes /b/ and /w/. In the passage from Early Common Romance to Late Common Romance both these phonemes develop a free allophone [β] in all positions; two allophones, then, belonging to different phonemes, are phonetically identical, and at the closing period of Common Romance Valesio assumes a "pressure, on the part of the phonemic system, toward a merger" (130-132). After the break-up of the common language a complex set of mergers takes place; in Iberia the two phonemes simply merge as /b/, but in the greater part of Romania the [β] allophones of both phonemes merge in various, apparently random, ways with other allophones of the two phonemes, and a new phoneme /v/ is created. In this second group of regions the dominant development in intervocalic position is the phonemicisation of the two identical allophones of /b/ and /w/ as /v/; thus Classical Latin and Early Common Romance habere gave Late Common Romance /abére/, phonetically [aβére], whence French avoir, Italian avere, and Spanish

haber (132-133, 134-135, 140).

Valesio then goes on to describe the elimination in Late Common Romance of hiatus between a front vowel and a following back vowel (as in habeo) by the transformation of the former into the semi-vowel /j/. The resultant diphthong causes a phonetic problem when it is immediately preceded by the allophone [w] of /w/; the unusual combination ("expanded diphthong") /w/ + /j/ + full vowel is likely to be subject to simplification, and the loss of the /w/ is normal (140-144). Now Valesio inexplicably applies this regular loss of /w/ before the diphthong to habeo, saying that the loss of the /b/ is part of a general phonemic development (145).

He then goes on to say (146) that, in the passage of Early Common Romance to Late Common Romance, the first person singular of habere has the phonemic structure */awjo/, represented phonetically by * [aβjo] and later *[ájo], and he gives forms with /w/ for the other persons (148). This is after saying that the Late Common Romance first person singular form is /ábeo/ (140), becoming */ábjo/ (145), and stating explicitly (135) that, in the complex Romance developments of the allophones of Early Common Romance /b/ and /w/, there is no merger whereby some of the [β] allophones of /b/ join the phoneme /w/. One is baffled.

- 10 Adverbs of time can sometimes prove useful in identifying the semantic content of tense forms with which they are used. To take an example, already can be used in combination with certain tenses but not with others. It is perhaps most frequently used with Ant tenses (I have already been), as its complement, still, is perhaps most commonly found with Post tenses (I'm still going to do it); already can also be used with the Pres and Past Desc tenses, but not with the Past Narr. The tenses with which already may be used all have the aspectual category Desc in common, since already refers to a state; Pres Ant, for example, consists of a primary distinction, which necessarily relates to a state, and a secondary distinction, which may relate to an event or a state. The combination of observó with the adverb ya in Bull's example, therefore, enables one to say that the sense of the preterite form here is Pres Ant rather than Past Narr.
- 11 Je vais aimer has probably already largely ousted j'aimerai as regards the meaning Pres Post, just as the Spanish voy a cantar appears to have largely replaced cantaré in this function. Whether or not j'aimerai will eventually be lost, as was amabo, is a matter for informed guesswork, but it is interesting to observe that the different items forming a diachronic sequence such as that proposed by Pulgram do not necessarily all have the same meaning. Pulgram predicts a continuation of the sequence in French,

but further development of Spanish voy a cantar would be made difficult by the preposition separating auxiliary and infinitive.

- 12 In these English examples the term "auxiliary" is used in a broad sense to refer to the formative not, which negates the accompanying verb. The verbs do and will are themselves used as auxiliaries, of course, and this fact serves to illustrate further the apparent importance of word order; in the sentence I don't like daisies, the auxiliary not is agglutinated to the preceding "auxiliate" do, but the auxiliary do (or don't) cannot be agglutinated to the following "auxiliate" like.

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